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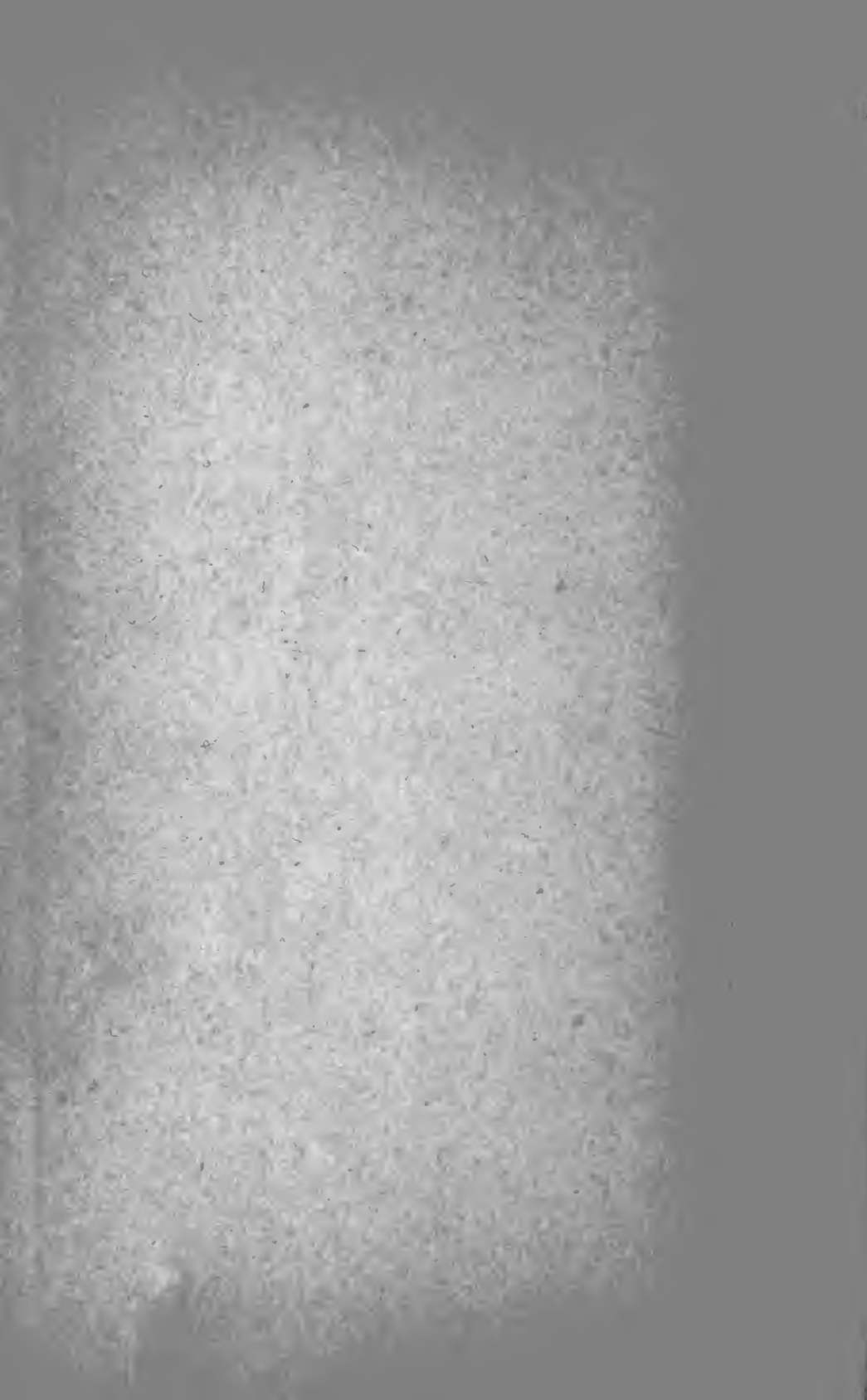


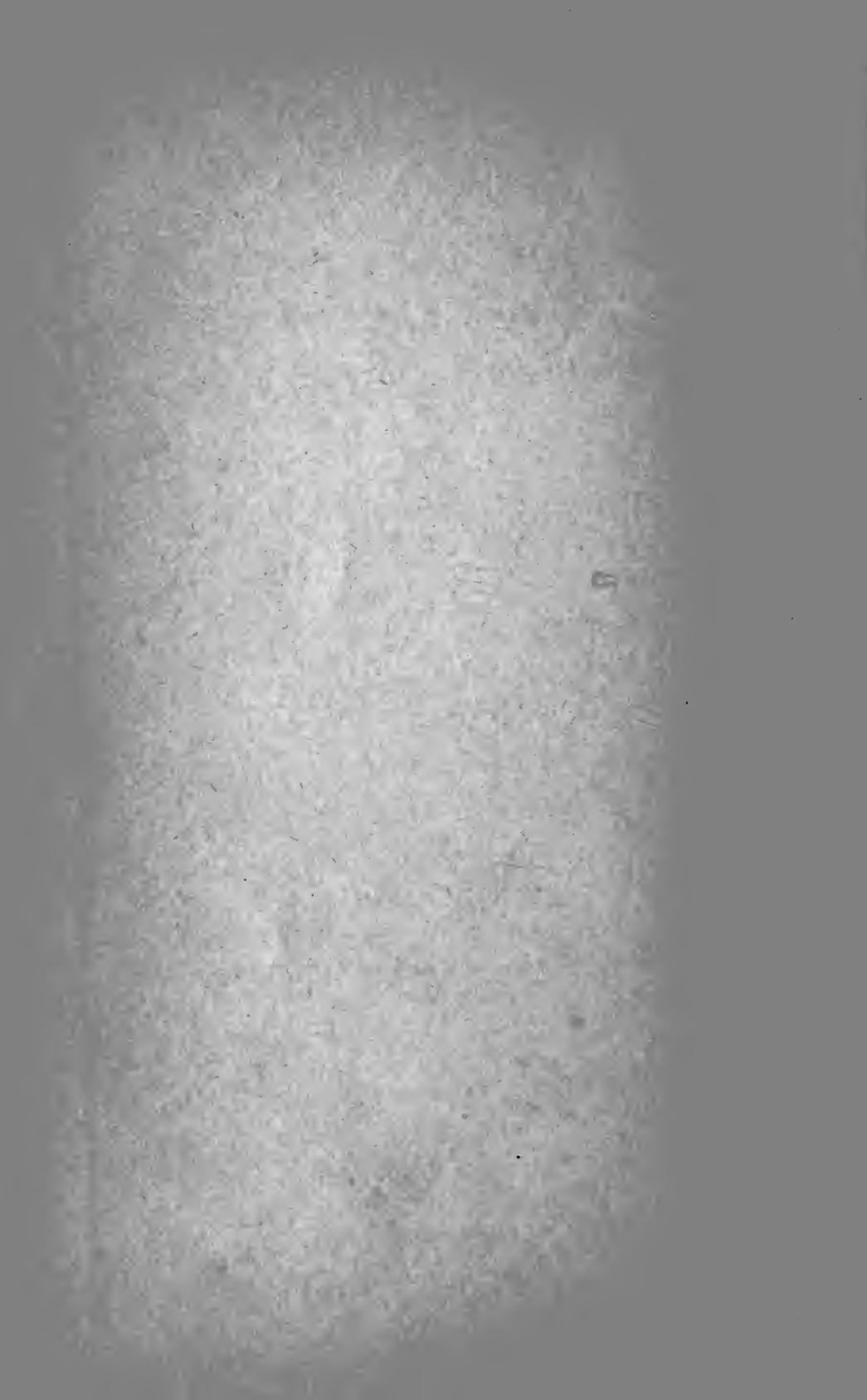
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SOCIAL ASPECTS OF GREEK LIFE

IN THE SIXTH CENTURY B. C.

BY

LIDA ROBERTS BRANDT, A. B. (*Wellesley*), A. M. (*Columbia*)

DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Political Science,
Columbia University

Philadelphia

T. C. DAVIS & SONS

1921

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TO THE MEMORY
OF
GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD



TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	II-15

CHAPTER I

THE STATE IN THE SIXTH CENTURY

The city-state and political diversity—Varied forms of government throughout Hellas—Military efficiency the basis of the state—The poets and political strife—Solon and his ideals for the state—Alcaeus and the factional strife of the nobles—Theognis and his defence of the old order—Political strife in Athens—The Greek feeling of patriotism—Citizenship and the duty of military service—War and warfare in the sixth century—The glory of war—The practices of war—Early instances of arbitration—Movements from the military and political towards the economic state—The sixth century a political training school.....	16-28
---	-------

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL CLASSES

The sixth century a conflict of classes—Athenian nobles—Class designation of nobles—The social classes of Athens—The social reforms of Solon—Solon's classification and protection of the classes—The social conflict in Megara—Opposition and compromise among the classes—The tyrants and the classes—Commercial classes—The lower classes—The artisan and peasant classes—The metics—Condition of foreigners in Greek cities—The Spartan social classification—The Perioeci—The Helots—Social conditions in Thessaly—The growth and extension of slavery—The sources of slaves—Household, agricultural, and industrial slaves—The treatment of slaves.....	29-43
---	-------

CHAPTER III

THE STATUS OF WOMEN

Summary survey of the status of women in the sixth century—Men poets as sources of knowledge of the life of women—Sappho, the greatest woman of the age—The poetesses—Other unusual women—Varying conditions of women in different parts	
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	PAGE
of Hellas—The physical charm of women—Their intellectual charm—Their moral status—Wifehood and motherhood the chief functions—Marriage relationships—The wedding—Married life—The home—The furniture—Household utensils—Daily duties and occupations—Devotion and duty to children—Family ties—Pleasures and amusements—In athletics—Dress—Relationship to law and state—Legal restrictions upon women—Women and religion—The unknown multitude.....	44-62

CHAPTER IV

MEN—CIVIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

Sixth century an age of transition to peaceful civic activities—The daily recreations of men—Divergence in Spartan practice—Alien influence on the habits of men—Origin of games and contests—Importance of games and athletic contests—The Olympic games—Rewards of the victors—The Pythian games—The Nemean games— <u>The minor or local festivals</u> —Special training for the games—Banquets and banquetting—Food—A banquet scene—The beginnings of the symposium—The feast of Cleisthenes—The uses and abuses of wine—The "Kalos" cups—Out-of-door life—The ideal of pleasure—Guest-friendship	63-76
--	-------

CHAPTER V

AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, AND COMMERCE

General economic situation at opening of the sixth century—Agricultural character of preceding century—Agriculture in the sixth century—Development of industry along local lines—First steps of this development in cities—Early development of financial measures—Early Athenian coinage—Natural products the first objects of trade—Early city centres of industry and commerce—Foreign influence upon industry and commerce—Miletus the leading city of Ionia—Phocaea the most powerful commercial city in Asia Minor—The growth of Ephesus—Aegina first in the west—Corinth and her waning supremacy—Chalcis—Economic importance of other Greek cities—Commercial and industrial progress of Athens—Early influences of the Athenian state on the economic situation—The industrial importance of Athenian pottery—The manufacture of Athenian pottery—Intellectual and spiritual stimulus of the industrial and economic progress of the sixth century.....	77-91
---	-------

CONTENTS

9

CHAPTER VI

RELIGION

PAGE

The potency of religion in individual and social life in the sixth century—Relation of the games to religion—Festivals and games distinguished—Race the basis of some festivals—Spartan festivals—The Athenian festivals—The Eleusinian festival—Introduction and development of the Dionysiac festivals—The Orphic movement—Prophets and reformers—Hero-worship in relation to religion—The worship of the gods—Religious shrines places of refuge—Soothsayers—The oracles—The oracles open to barbarians—Oracles potent in directing public policies—The oracle at Delphi—Delphi and the Amphictyony—Religion in relation to individual morality..... 92-105

BIBLIOGRAPHY 106-109



INTRODUCTION

To bring together the source material relating to Greek society in the sixth century B.C. and to present from it a picture of life in that century is the purpose of this study. Although Greek society has not been a neglected subject, when it has not been treated as a composite picture of various times and ages, it has usually been considered with some period later than the sixth century as the focal point. The sixth century has not been made to stand out clearly by itself. An effort has been made here to use material that belongs unquestionably to the sixth century, and so to treat separately and in detail the social aspects of Greek life in the century immediately preceding the classical period or great age of Greece.

The literary sources for the sixth century fall into two classes—those which had their origin in that century and those which come from a later time. No prose records have come down to us from the sixth century. The fragmentary remains of the elegiac and lyric poets, however, furnish much material that is useful in delineating the Greek life of the period. From later writers material has been drawn which refers to this century. Many of these writers were able to draw from first-hand sources no longer available, and hence their evidence may be considered trustworthy.

No complete picture of the period can be built up from any one of the poets, as only fragments are extant. Each, however, contributes some material helpful in piecing together the life and social conditions of the times. Solon, the great Athenian lawgiver, also the first known Athenian poet, has left his own records of the social and economic conditions of the Athens of his day, as well as his explanations of his own actions. Sappho's fragments, although few, are most valuable in throwing light on the status of women in Lesbos. Alcaeus, the Lesbian poet, gives pictures of various phases of Aeolic civilization. Anacreon reflects the life of a courtier and idler.

Theognis of Megara in his elegiac verse shows the attitude of a political and social reactionary of the day. Xenophanes, the Ionic philosopher, has left not only his philosophy but pleasing pictures of contemporary life. Pindar reflects the brilliance of the courts of the tyrants at the close of the century and reveals the lives and ideals of the aristocrats. The remaining poets are numerous,¹ although the material they have left is little; often, however, illumination is thrown on a subject by a single line.

Herodotus is the chief secondary source for this period. Although belonging to the fifth century, he devoted great care to source material that was available to him.² From travel, from written records, and from tradition and reports of others, he sifted his material. He was not unduly credulous. He throws doubt on many marvelous tales even when he reports them. Much of the material taken from him is incidental to his own history. In writing his history he gives details about persons and places that are particularly valuable for the social background of the period. The *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, commonly attributed to Xenophon, gives the earliest picture extant of Spartan life. Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians*, in giving the political history of Athens, also throws light on the social and economic conditions that prevailed there, and thus supplements Solon.³

The writings of Plutarch, Pausanias, and Strabo, though much later, contribute, however, somewhat to our knowledge of this century. These authors were familiar with the writings of Androtion, Philochorus, and other earlier historians whose

¹ Simonides, Bacchylides, Hipponax, Phocylides, Ibycus, Stesichorus, Corinna, Telesilla, Praxilla, Myrtis, Semonides.

² Herodotus used Hecataeus; and probably Dionysius of Miletus, Charon of Lampsacus, Scylax of Caryanda, and others. Cf. Bury, J. B., *Ancient Greek Historians* (London, 1909), p. 66, *et seq.*

³ Aristotle used the lost successors of Hellanicus, such as Cleidemus, Melanthius, Phanodemus, Androtion, and Philochorus. Cf. Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

works are now lost. Plutarch's *Lives of Solon and Lycurgus* are especially valuable for Athenian and for Spartan life respectively. Pausanias has recorded many odd facts. Strabo's contribution is slight and yet not without some value. Many other Greek writers in a minor way contribute something to a knowledge of this century.

Among the archaeological sources for the sixth century are vase-paintings and coins. This period was the age of the full development of black-figured and of the beginnings of red-figured Athenian ware.⁴ Fabrics of other cities than Athens had not yet been crowded out of the market so that vases of diversified styles belonging to this age are still to be found. The decorations of the vases provide pictures of Greek life in all parts of the Hellenic world. During the century painters were gradually mastering the technical problem of perspective and gaining facility, but both the crude work of the earlier period and the more finished product of the later years of the century provide material for the student of Greek life and manners. While mythical scenes predominate, the setting is that of contemporary life. The coins of the sixth century are comparatively few and therefore are relatively not so important as the other existing material.⁵ Their distribution shows particularly the extent of commerce. The conflict between the Aeginetan and Chalcidic standards of currency indicates an interesting struggle for commercial supremacy. The artistic value of the coins in this age was slight.

Epigraphic material relating to the sixth century is not extensive. There are a few important historical inscriptions.⁶ The remaining ones fall into two classes—religious and sepulchral. The latter are simple but of occasional significance. The

⁴ Fowler, H. N., and Wheeler, J. R., *A Handbook of Greek Archaeology* (New York, 1901); also Walters, H. B., *History of Ancient Pottery* (New York, 1905).

⁵ Hill, G. F., *Historical Greek Coins* (London, 1906); also Gardner, Percy, *History of Ancient Coinage* (Oxford, 1918).

⁶ Hicks, E. L., and Hill, G. F., *A Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1901).

former are chiefly votive inscriptions and show particularly the importance of the oracles and their widespread influence.

All modern historians of Greece have touched upon the social aspects of this period, but no one has attempted full and separate treatment of it. Beloch, in his *Griechische Geschichte*,⁷ and Busolt, in his monumental history,⁸ have paid greatest attention to this period from the social and economic points of view. Neither of these is available in English. Francotte, in his valuable history of Greek industry,⁹ and Guiraud, in his economic studies of antiquity,¹⁰ have made important special contributions.

The social aspects of Greek life in the sixth century to be treated in detail in the following chapters will cover the development of the state as shown in the attitude of the poets, the growth of social classes, the status of women, the civil and social activities of men, the development of agriculture, industry and commerce, and the character and influence of religion. The detailed facts of the period are so diversified as to admit of little generalization. The following summary survey, however, will serve to convey some definite impression of the general character of the period to be discussed.—(1) The political trend of the period is characteristic of the critical and adventurous elements in Greek genius. By the sixth century, except in Sparta and Argos, the age of kings had passed. Not until the last decade of the century were there definite signs of democracy. But Greeks of all classes in this period were devoting themselves to maintaining and gaining political power. (2) An age of political conflict, the sixth century also tended to develop and differentiate the social classes. It was characterized by constant conflicts between the old aristocracy of

⁷ Beloch, Julius, *Griechische Geschichte*, 3 vols., 2nd ed. (Strassburg, 1912).

⁸ Busolt, G., *Griechische Geschichte*, 3 vols. (2nd ed. Gotha, 1895).

⁹ Francotte, Henri, *L'Industrie dans la Grèce Ancienne* (Brussels, 1900).

¹⁰ Guiraud, Paul, *Études Économiques sur L'Antiquité* (Paris, 1905).

birth and property and the rising commercial class, and also by the increase in the number of slaves. (3) The position occupied by women in this period of course varied according to the social class to which they belonged. In general, the freedom of the epic age was passing and women, particularly of the upper classes, under oriental influence, were becoming more restricted in their actions. Yet in this age woman, in the person of Sappho, attained to extraordinary preeminence and culture. (4) As to men, except in the case of Sparta, the tendency of the period on the whole was away from the military toward social and civic activities. With the leisure of peaceful days, it was possible to make an art of recreation. The Greek more and more found his pleasure in the palaestra and in the banquet hall. (5) Industrial development, culminating in the commercial supremacy of Athens, was a marked feature throughout the cities of the Greek world. The growth of technical and artistic skill, and the extension and expansion of systems of coinage, were striking phases of this development. Tyrants and law-givers made efforts toward setting the state on a sure economic foundation through suitable legislation. (6) Finally, religion and religious institutions acting both on the state and on the individual, through games, festivals and other agencies, influenced powerfully the whole of Greek life. From religion came during the sixth century an impetus to Greek art—plastic and literary, to trade and industry, and through the promotion of race consciousness to intellectual and spiritual unity.

CHAPTER I

THE STATE IN THE SIXTH CENTURY

By the opening of the sixth century the idea that the city-state, or *πόλις*, was the political unit was well-established.¹ The tribal division of early times developed into a small local unit beyond which there was little enlargement. The prevalence of the city-state became the most striking feature of the political organization of Hellas.² Individualism found expression in government as well as in personal ideals, and above all other nations the Greek city-states demanded local independence. This political division was in part due to the geographical separation of the Greek communities. Before difficulties of communication are mastered it is hard to retain sympathy between peoples even most closely akin. The Greeks, notwithstanding their realization of racial unity as evidenced by the employment of the word Panhellenes³ and by the formation of and close adherence to religious leagues,⁴ never succeeded in forming a political union of permanent strength. In the sixth century political diversity was at its height.

¹ Used by Alcaeus, 35; Theognis, 43; Solon, 2.1, etc. References to fragments of the lyric poets are made, except where otherwise stated, according to Hiller-Crusius, *Anthologia Lyrica*, 4th ed. (Leipsic, 1913).

² Zimmern, A. E., *Greek Commonwealth* (Oxford, 1915), *passim*.

³ Archilochus, 49; also by Hesiod, *Opera*, ed. Rzach (Leipsic, 1902), fr. 26, according to Strabo.

⁴ Such as the Pan-Ionic, which centred at Mycale; cf. Herodotus, ed. Stein, H., 2 vols. (Berlin, 1869-71), translated by Rawlinson, G., 2 vols. (New York, 1910), I, 143, 145 *et seq.*; the Dorian, on the Triopian promontory, cf. Herodotus, I, 144; and the Delphic Amphictyony, cf. Strabo, *Geographica*, ed. Kramer, G., 2 vols. (Berlin, 1852), IX, 3.7 and 4.47; Herodotus, II, 180; Aeschines, *Orationes*, ed. Blass, F., (Leipsic, 1908), II, 115; III, 107. See also Botsford, G. W., "Amphictyony" in *Encycl. Brit.*, xi. ed. (1910).

During this century almost every form of government ever known to the Greeks was to be found in the borders of Hellas. Sparta clung to the monarchical theory, although in reality her government was "a close, unscrupulous, and well-obeyed oligarchy."⁵ Among less developed peoples, such as the Acarnanians and Epirots, tribal organization still continued. Elsewhere were to be found aristocracy, tyranny, and toward the end of the period, the beginnings of democracy. The history of Athens, which passed through all these forms, is typical. As the power of the nobles who had formed the king's council increased, the kingship became a mere official position.⁶ Until about the middle of the seventh century the Eupatrids controlled the government.⁷ When the phalanx was introduced the middle class had to equip itself with heavy arms, and thus became influential.⁸ In this way a timocracy based on heavy infantry came into existence. This lasted down to the reforms of Cleisthenes, so far as officeholding was concerned, although the Thetes voted after the time of Solon.⁹ As dissatisfaction continued and factions arose, in 560 B.C., the power was usurped by Peisistratus, leader of the party of the Hills, and for fifty years, with slight interruptions, Athens was under a tyranny.¹⁰ Late in the century the reforms of Cleisthenes introduced democratic elements which gave great

⁵ Grote, George, *History of Greece*, 12 vols. (New York, 1865-1867), vol. iii, p. 359.

⁶ Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, ed. Kenyon, F. G. (Oxford, 1891), 41.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 3; Philochorus, fr. 58. Cf. Müller, C. and T., *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (Paris, 1841-1851), i, 394.

⁸ Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, 4. Cf. Botsford, G. W., *The Development of the Athenian Constitution* (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, vol. iv, Boston, 1893), p. 165, *et seq.*; p. 201.

⁹ Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, 7.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 13. The party of the Hills was the extreme party which demanded economic reforms. Cf. Botsford, *op. cit.*, p. 155; Busolt, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 302, *et seq.*

possibilities for future development, though some aristocratic features were retained.¹¹

The independence of the Greek state was in the sixth century already based on military efficiency. To defend the fatherland was the first duty of every citizen, and it was a duty they were often called upon to perform. The purpose of much early poetry had been to summon men to martial enterprise. In Callinus of Ephesus (c. 700) is found the first of such stirring strains,—“Honorable it is and glorious for a man to fight the enemy in behalf of his country, his wife and his children.”¹² At this period the Ephesians had to defend themselves against the barbarian Cimmerians as well as against nearer neighbors.¹³ But warfare between the states, and even within them, kept almost all Greek cities in a state of continual preparedness. Sparta is of course the chief example of militarism. Of the early Sparta, where skill with the lyre was placed as high as skill with the sword, we know little.¹⁴ But it is true that when Sparta devoted herself to the art of war, she did not forget that music might be one of her chief aids in this very direction. Whatever the real story of Tyrtaeus may be, the poetry associated with his name is especially fitted to arouse the patriotism and fighting spirit of a people. He expresses the simple logic and code of honor of a fighting man,—bravery in war is the chief of virtues;¹⁵ cowardice is the greatest disgrace;¹⁶ to die for country wins honor and glory.¹⁷

The lack of contemporary prose sources in the sixth century makes the reconstruction of its political history and theory a

¹¹ Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, 20, 21; *Politics*, trans. Jowett, B., 2 vols. (Oxford, 1885), III, 2.3. See also Grote, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 126 *et seq.*

¹² Callinus, 1.6-7.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁴ Alcman, 60.

¹⁵ Tyrtaeus, 10.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 8. 7ff., 9.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 8. 1ff.

complex problem, for it must in large part be done from writings of a later time. The present chapter, however, does not attempt such a reconstruction. It undertakes rather the examination of the attitude of some of the contemporary poets toward government and the state. As conditions differed in various parts of Hellas, no statements can be made which would be true of all places. The poets therefore must be associated with their own environments and periods. Yet all voice the political unrest that was rife, and show the clash of opinion among all classes in the state.

Solon, the Athenian poet and reformer of the early sixth century, attempted to establish justice and moderation as an ideal for the state. At the close of the seventh century the Athenian nobles were grinding to the earth the lower classes and were keeping for themselves political power as well as economic advantages. From Solon's own songs of party strife may be learned the condition of the city. "The citizens themselves," he says, "persuaded by money, in their lack of wisdom, wish to destroy the great city. The mind of the rulers of the people is unjust; because of their great insolence must they suffer many woes. For they do not know how to hold in check their arrogance, nor how to enjoy the present feast in silence. They grow rich by obeying unjust deeds. Sparing neither sacred nor public property, they steal and loot, one here and one there."¹⁸ To bring order out of chaos, Solon went to the root of the matter. "My soul commands me," he said, "to teach the Athenians these things, that misrule brings most evils upon a city, but good rule makes everything well-ordered and harmonious."¹⁹ Solon believed that a conscientious aristocracy was the best possible form of government. A tyranny seemed to him no solution of the problem. The capabilities of the common people were from his point of view, however, equally unpromising. "The people had better follow their leaders," he said; but added, "neither with too much

¹⁸ Solon, 2. 5-13.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2. 31-33.

freedom nor too much restraint."²⁰ Expressing his ideal, he said, "I did not work in vain, nor did it please me to act with the power of a tyrant, nor that the good and the evil should have equal share in the rich soil of our fatherland."²¹ His moderation, however, pleased none of the parties, and factional strife brought about the conditions which enabled Peisistratus to make himself tyrant.

Alcaeus of Mytilene was a member of the nobility who early in the sixth century fought against the new forces with all his might and who suffered exile rather than submit. His verses sounded a rally-call for 'patriots',—"for brave men are the defence of a city;"²² but to Alcaeus only the nobles could be patriotic or brave. Fragments of his attacks on the leaders of the opposite party remain. He assailed harshly Pittacus, whose reputation has nevertheless come down to these days as a wise statesman and lawgiver. "Pittacus, the worker of evil to his country,"—*ton kakopatrida Pittakon*, he calls him.²³ The death of the tyrant Myrsilus brought him joy. "Now let us drink heavily and heartily, since Myrsilus is dead," he sang.²⁴ Alcaeus, firmly convinced of the right of the nobles to rule, dreaded both the common people and one-man-power. Of Pittacus, he further said, "This man, mad with great power, soon will overthrow the state."²⁵ The poet's passion and fire, which chance has preserved to a greater extent in drinking songs than in political diatribes, was devoted largely to the service of his native city.

Another phase of the struggle between the old aristocracy and the rising claimants for power is recorded in the poetry of Theognis, the grumbler of Megara, who continually laments that the government has fallen into the control of "the base."

²⁰ Solon, 4. 1-2.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 30-31; 7-9.

²² Alcaeus, 35.

²³ *Ibid.*, 42.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 74.

"Good men have never destroyed a city, but when it pleases the evil to vaunt themselves, they corrupt the common people and give the decision to the unjust, for the sake of their own gain and power. Hope not that such a city will long remain unshaken, even if now it is in peace, when such gains are dear to evil men as are accompanied by public hurt. From such men arise strife and civil bloodshed and one-man-rulers."²⁶ These things are never pleasing to a city."²⁷ It is important to remember that "good" applies only to nobles, and "evil" to the recently enriched industrial and commercial class. Nobles like Theognis fought valiantly but in vain for the old order. In the very face of the new era they persisted in believing,— "the sense of shame has perished. Insolence and pride have conquered justice and rule the whole earth."²⁸

In Athens also political strife engaged the attention of all parties. A law of Solon had disenfranchised citizens who took no side in factional disputes. Unfortunately there is no evidence to show to what extent this interesting attempt to enforce participation in civic life was carried into effect.²⁹ Under the rule of the Peisistratidae a certain amount of interest in public affairs was encouraged. Peisistratus left the forms of the Athenian constitution unchanged, and only provided that his family should be represented in the college of archons. The council and assembly, by his skillful manipulation, acted in accordance with his will.³⁰ The spirit of revolt, however, that was to bring about the overthrow of the tyranny and a larger measure of democracy in the following age was an under-current gaining force. When the time came, the citizens

²⁶ Theognis, 52. This is the first recorded use of the term "monarchs"—*mounarchoi*.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 43-52.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 291-2.

²⁹ Plutarch, *Lives*, trans. Stewart, A., and Long, G. (London, 1912), *Solon*, 20; Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, 8.

³⁰ Holm, Adolph, *The History of Greece*, trans. (London, 1894), vol. i, p. 408; Busolt, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 326; Botsford, *op. cit.*, p. 188, *et seq.* Herodotus, I. 59; Thucydides, VI. 54.

proved themselves ready for the new order. "So soon as they got their freedom," records Herodotus, "each man was eager to do the best he could for himself."³¹

Notwithstanding all this party strife, the Greek citizen was bound to the service of his state by a very real feeling of patriotism. No definite theory of duty or obligation had yet been worked out, but the facts on which future political scientists were to build were already in existence. Exile was a frequent result of civil strife, yet the bitterness of separation from the mother-land caused keen suffering. Mingled with the idea of devotion to the state was a love for native land that survived time and distance. "Not even a returned exile becomes himself again," says Theognis.³² If even residence in another Greek city had this effect, the sorrow of those forced to live farther from home, away from Greek language and customs, was still greater. Democedes, a physician of Croton, feared finding favor among the Persians because they might prevent him from ever again beholding Greece.³³ The Ionic Revolt owed much to the longings of Histiaeus for his native country (Miletus).³⁴

Citizenship, moreover, always implied the duty of military service. Often, indeed, men served in the army who did not have the rank of full citizens.³⁵ War, however, was still a pleasure as well as a duty. Fighting occupied a large part of the life of all men, and it was adopted as a regular profession by the more adventurous. Archilochus, a soldier of fortune of the seventh century, who lived carelessly and gaily as a fighter and poet, exclaims: "In my spear is kneaded bread, in my spear is Ismarian wine, leaning on my spear, I drink."³⁶

³¹ Herodotus, V. 78.

³² Theognis, 333-334.

³³ Herodotus, III. 129-136.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, V. 35; 106-107.

³⁵ Such as the Perioeci and Helots of Sparta under compulsion. Cf. Herodotus, IX. 10 *seq.*; 29, 85.

³⁶ Archilochus, 2.

It was earlier than the period under discussion that Greeks had first entered the service of barbarians as mercenary soldiers.³⁷ In the sixth century, Greeks, especially Ionians, thronged to the service of foreign masters. They served under the second Psammetichus early in the sixth century.³⁸ About the same time Antimenidas, the brother of Alcaeus, fought in the service of Babylon, and returned with a tale of marvelous exploits and a sword of gold and ivory as a reward.³⁹ When Cambyses made his expedition against Egypt (c. 525 B.C.), he was aided by Ionic and Aeolic mercenaries,⁴⁰ who found themselves fighting against brother Greeks in the service of the Egyptian king Amasis.⁴¹ The Greek tyrants also used hired soldiers. Peisistratus, for example, surrounded himself with Thracian mercenaries.⁴² Polycrates of Samos, also, employed a large body of foreign mercenaries as well as a force of native bowmen.⁴³ Freedom from responsibility, possibility of enrichment, and pure love of adventure attracted Greeks into the profession.

The citizens who did not seek a military career and fought only for their own state had their full share of war and warfare in the sixth century. While civil strife may have predominated, and while there was nothing that could be compared in magnitude to the approaching conflict with the Persians, many petty interstate wars occupied time and attention. The Sacred War of the Amphictyonic Council against

³⁷ Psammetichus I gained the Egyptian throne with the aid of Carian and Ionian mercenaries, about 664 B.C. Cf. Herodotus, II. 152; Diodorus Siculus, *Histories*, ed. Müller, C., (Paris, 1842), I. 668; Strabo, *Geographica*, XVII. 1.18.

³⁸ Inscriptions by Greek mercenaries have been found at Abu Simbel in Nubia. Cf. Hicks and Hill, 3.

³⁹ Alcaeus, 36-37.

⁴⁰ Herodotus, II. 1; III. 1, 25.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, III. 11.

⁴² *Ibid.*, I. 64.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, III. 45.

Criseis (c. 595),⁴⁴ the wars of Sparta against Argos,⁴⁵ of Sparta and Corinth against Samos,⁴⁶ of Athens against Aegina,⁴⁷ and of Athens against Thebes and Chalcis,⁴⁸ belong to this class. The sixth century Greek was often under arms. In Ionia the pressure of the Lydians and then of Persians caused frequent if not continuous warfare. Early in the century Alcaeus, in a much quoted passage, describes a great hall hung with armor,—helmets, greaves, shields and Chalcidic swords.⁴⁹ It is not probable that all houses were thus decked, but the Greeks of necessity lived practically all the time in a state of military preparedness. It had been the custom for the ancient Greeks to go about armed.⁵⁰ During this period, even if men no longer carried arms in civil life, it was necessary to have weapons of defense always at hand. The arts of peace flourished as never before in the cities grown rich by industry and trade, but as yet there could be no great feeling of security.

The glory of war thus had as yet received no dimming. Callinus and Tyrtaeus had earlier voiced the warrior's patriotism and their spirit lived on in the poets of the sixth century. "For it is glorious to die in battle," echoed Alcaeus,⁵¹ as the poets of every age have done. Fallen warriors were honored with public burial and tombstones.⁵² Sometimes their names were inscribed on a pillar set in the market-place, that coming generations might know their fame and remember them with

⁴⁴ Aeschines, III. 107 *et seq.*; Strabo, IX. 3.4; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, trans. Frazer, J. G., 6 vols., (London, 1913), IX. 37.5-8.

⁴⁵ Herodotus, VI. 76-83; Pausanias, II. 20.8; III. 4.1.

⁴⁶ Herodotus, III. 39-60.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, V. 81-89.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, V. 77.

⁴⁹ Alcaeus, 56.

⁵⁰ Aristotle. *Pol.* II. 8.99; *cf.* also Thucydides, *Historiae*, ed. Boehme, G., 2 vols. (Leipsic, 1862-64), I. 5-6.

⁵¹ Alcaeus, 14.

⁵² Herodotus, IX. 85; Pausanias, I. 29.7.

gratitude.⁵³ Exemption from burdens (*ἀτέλεια*), that is, relief from certain taxes, was decreed by cities to men whom they wished to honor, and valor in war was probably most frequently the service thus rewarded.⁵⁴ Solon deemed Tellus the happiest of mortals, because after years of prosperity he gave his life gloriously for his country.⁵⁵ Such a life was most honorable for men, and such a death was most blessed. "The great glory of martial excellence will never perish," declared Theognis, "for a warrior saves both country and city."⁵⁶

The practices of war were now becoming standardized, and interstate relations were regulated in conformity to a kind of international law.⁵⁷ War was formally "declared" by the announcement of a herald. The breach of this convention by the Aeginetans in a war against Athens is commented on by Herodotus.⁵⁸ The use of champions in attempts to settle disputes was a noteworthy custom of the time. The Athenians and Mytilenaeans resorted to single combat in their contest over Sigeum, Phrynon the Athenian fighting Pittacus of Mytilene. Although the latter conquered, his city did not profit, for the matter was finally settled by arbitration.⁵⁹ The claim of the Spartans and of the Argives to the district of Thyrea was to be settled by a battle between three hundred men from each state. The result of this battle, which took place about the middle of the sixth century, was unsatisfac-

⁵³ Herodotus, VI. 14 (Samos).

⁵⁴ Michel 532 = Dittenberger, I. 4; Michel, C., *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques* (Brussels, 1900); Dittenberger, W., *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Leipsic, 1915).

⁵⁵ Herodotus, I. 30.

⁵⁶ Theognis, 867-868.

⁵⁷ Cf. Caldwell, W. E., *Hellenic Conceptions of Peace* (New York, 1919), p. 43, *et seq.*

⁵⁸ Herodotus, V. 81.

⁵⁹ Strabo, XIII. 1. 38; Diogenes Laertius, *De Vitis Dogmatis et Apophthegmatis Clarorum*, ed. Huebner, H. G., 2 vols. (Leipsic, 1828), *Pittacus*, 1.

tory, and led only to further trouble.⁶⁰ Only one Spartan survived to two Argives, but the former remained on the field and stripped the bodies of the slain. Both sides claimed victory, and the war was continued. Prisoners of war were in general cruelly treated, either being enslaved,⁶¹ or kept in fetters until ransomed.⁶² The ransom was sometimes two minas a man.⁶³

There are three known cases in the century where differences between states were settled by arbitration.⁶⁴ About 600 B.C., the quarrel of Athens and Mytilene over Sigeum was settled by Periander of Corinth on the basis of the *status quo*.⁶⁵ A question of the boundaries between Arcadia and Elis was arranged according to the decision of Pyttalus, an Elean, about 572 B.C.⁶⁶ Towards the end of the century the Corinthians arbitrated between Athens and Thebes on the question as to whether Plataea might be forced into the Boeotian League, and decided against Thebes.⁶⁷ Another sign of the growth of international relations is the importance of the office of *proxenos*.⁶⁸ A *proxenos* was the official representative of another people at his own city. He aided especially those citizens of the other country who came to his city for commercial purposes and represented them in the law courts. The institution was an outgrowth of the old

⁶⁰ Herodotus, I. 82; Strabo, VIII. 6.17; Pausanias, II. 38.5.

⁶¹ Herodotus, I. 66 (Lacedaemonians on Tegean plain); *Ibid.*, III. 39 (Lesbians at Samos). Cf. Phillipson, C., *The International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome*, 2 vols. (London, 1911), vol. ii, p. 251, *et seq.*

⁶² Herodotus, V. 77 (Chalcidic prisoners at Athens).

⁶³ *Ibid.*, V. 77; VI. 79.

⁶⁴ Cf. Raeder, A., *L'Arbitrage International chez les Hellenes* (New York, 1912), pp. 20-24, 143-147.

⁶⁵ Herodotus, V. 95; Strabo, XIII. 1.38; Diog. Laert., *Pittacus*, 1.

⁶⁶ Pausanias, VI. 16. 8.

⁶⁷ Herodotus, VI. 108; Thucydides, III. 55.

⁶⁸ Kaibel, G., *Epigrammata Graeca* (Berlin, 1878), 179.

practice of guest-friendship. The office was held by a man of importance and ability. Pindar, for example, was made Proxenus for Athens at Thebes because of his praise of Athens.⁶⁹ Treaties of alliance between states were also made, such as that between the Eleans and the Heraeans. This treaty, made sometime between 550 and 500 B.C., was to last a hundred years, and was placed under the protection of Olympian Zeus.⁷⁰ Thales of Miletus proposed even closer cooperation. He advised the Ionians of Asia Minor to establish a single seat of government at Teos, and thus join in a kind of confederation which would have allowed, however, local autonomy to each city.⁷¹ The recommendation was rejected, and, divided, the Ionic states soon fell before the Persian advance.

These movements just noted illustrate a tendency that was beginning to gain in force,—a new disposition to maintain peace. In reality this tendency was a movement from the military and political towards the economic state. The possibilities of industrial and commercial expansion were now being realized, and it was becoming evident that peace and prosperity went hand in hand. With increasing wealth men found life too comfortable to care to leave it for the battle in which their ancestors had delighted. Theognis wished—"May peace and wealth fill the city, that I may revel with others, for I do not love evil war. Do not give ear, when the herald shouts loud, for we are not fighting for our fatherland."⁷² But he had the grace to add, "It is shameful for men, when present and mounted on swift horses, not to look upon tearful war."⁷³ Anacreon, surrounded by the pomp and luxury of a tyrant's court, preferred to sing of love and

⁶⁹ Isocrates, *Orationes*, ed. Benseler, G., 2 vols. (Leipsic, 1851), XV. 166.

⁷⁰ Hicks and Hill, 9 = Michel, 1 = Dittenberger, I. 9.

⁷¹ Herodotus, I. 170.

⁷² Theognis, 885-888.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 889-890.

wine rather than of martial glory. He followed the literary fashion set by Archilochus and Alcaeus and threw away his shield.⁷⁴ Yet he scornfully says, "Once of old there were brave Milesians,"⁷⁵ implying that he saw degeneracy in a people who bargained with the barbarians, and who preferred economic prosperity to war. As civilization grew more complex, the advantages accruing from peace were more plainly seen, but the honor and glory of war were still evident to a people who drew their greatest inspiration from Homer.

The sixth century was a political training school for the future. Said Simonides,—*πόλις ἄνδρα διδάσκει*—"the city is the school-master of man."⁷⁶ The Greek city-state became the school-master of mankind. But the men of this period threw themselves into active participation in affairs of state not because they were mindful of the future, but because the state offered the greatest field for adventure and achievement.

⁷⁴ Archilochus, 5; for Alcaeus, see Herodotus, V. 95; Anacreon, 24.

⁷⁵ Anacreon, 81.

⁷⁶ Simonides of Ceos, 50.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL CLASSES

The sixth century was the age of conflict between the old aristocracy of birth and landed property and those of the commons who by their ability had acquired wealth and power. At the opening of the period the nobles were almost everywhere in political and social control, but in the course of the century they gradually lost their old preeminence, and by its close the age of democracies was at hand. The seventh century had seen the rise of an industrial and commercial class which gradually came to the fore, although society still rested largely on an agricultural basis.¹ The advent of this new class everywhere caused revolutionary movements. The reactionary nobles resisted change in vain. In Lacedaemonia a unique social structure prevailed, which will be treated separately. The corresponding classes in the other Hellenic states had much in common.

The nobles in the early sixth century of whom most is known are those of Athens. From Solon's own writings as well as from later authors it is possible to draw a picture of society before his reforms and to understand what social purposes the reformer endeavored to accomplish. In Athens as well as in other states the nobility rested on the double basis of land ownership and descent from the original settlers. As mythical lines of descent were easily invented, the real power was based on possessions. But apparently only those who for some generations at least had maintained the traditions of family were able to hold large property in lands. A certain section of society was growing wealthy through commerce. Some of these adventurers belonged to the old nobility of birth. The others had more or less difficulty, varying in different states, in making their way into the aristocracy of power.

¹ Busolt, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 197 *et seq.*

In some states the nature of the nobles was indicated by the name which designated their class. The Athenian nobles were called *Eupatridae*, or the well-born.² In Syracuse the nobles were known as *Geomori*, or land-holders.³ In Samos the appellation was the same.⁴ The rich men of Chalcis, who controlled the government, were called *Hippobotae*, or horse-keepers.⁵

The Athenian social situation, it seems probable, was typical of many others. Hesiod's picture of rural life in Boeotia a century earlier gives the impression of a hard-working people down-trodden by unjust and cruel "kings."⁶ Much the same condition seems to have prevailed at Athens at the close of the seventh century. The Athenian citizens originally consisted of three classes,—the *Eupatridae*; the *Georgi*, or *Aegicores*, or small-landed proprietors; and the *Demiourgi*, or artisans.⁷ In the seventh century a hoplitic timocracy gave the franchise to all who could provide heavy armor, but only those who could meet certain higher property qualifications might hold office.⁸ The *Thetes*, or poorest class, were entirely excluded from the government. Not merely their political, but still more their economic subservience aroused the people to the agitation which led to the Solonian reforms. Aristotle says: "The poor,—men, women, and children, served the rich. They were known as *Pelatae*, and also as *Hectemori*, because they cultivated the lands of the rich at a rent (of a sixth part of the produce). The whole country was in the hands of a few

² Xenophon, *Works*, trans. Dakyns, H. G. (London, 1892), *Symposium*, 8.40; cf. Busolt, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 93 *et seq.*

³ Herodotus, VII. 155; *Marmor Parium*, 36 (Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, I. 548).

⁴ Thucydides, VIII. 21.

⁵ Herodotus, V. 77; Strabo, X. 1.8.

⁶ Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 202, 248, etc.

⁷ Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, 13; cf. Botsford, *Development of Athenian Constitution*, p. 153.

⁸ Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, 4.

persons, and if the tenants failed to pay their rent, they were liable to be haled into slavery, and their children with them. All loans were secured upon the debtor's person."⁹ The same story is told by Plutarch,¹⁰ except that he describes the Hectemori as men who were "obliged to pay one-sixth of the profit (of their farms) to creditors." Both of these statements may be true, for doubtless some of the peasants had fallen into actual serfdom, while other were still free tenants. The smaller farmers were not only losing their land, but their personal freedom as well, and the situation demanded imperative treatment.¹¹

It was this economic situation in the time of Solon that led to various social reforms. Solon, who by "birth and reputation was one of the foremost men of the day, but in wealth and position was of the middle class,"¹² was chosen Archon by general consent, and the revision of the constitution was given into his hands.¹³ Instead of becoming actual tyrant, as he might have done, he instituted reforms and then resigned, even leaving the country that he might not be called upon to further interpret the new constitution.¹⁴ Solon first cancelled all debts which had been made upon the security of the person or on land, and declared free all those who had fallen into slavery for debt.¹⁵ He brought back to Athens those who had been sold into slavery abroad,¹⁶ and forbade in future the contracting of debts on the security of the person.¹⁷ According to Androtion, as quoted by Plutarch, he merely

⁹ Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, 2.

¹⁰ Plutarch, *Solon*, 13.

¹¹ Solon, 2. 5-26.

¹² Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, 5.

¹³ *Ibid.*; Plutarch, *Solon*, 14.

¹⁴ Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, 11; Solon, 30-31.7, 8.

¹⁵ Plutarch, *Solon*, 15; Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, 6; Philochorus, fr. 57 (Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, I. 393).

¹⁶ Solon, 36.6.

¹⁷ Plutarch, *Solon*, 15; Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, 6.

reduced debts by lowering the rate of interest and by the adoption of the Chalcidic standard of coinage. It seems probable that some debts (*i. e.*, on the person) were entirely cancelled.¹⁸

Plutarch declares that Solon was the first to take a census and to classify the people as *Pentacosiomedimni*, *Hippeis*, *Zeugitae*, and *Thetes*.¹⁹ But Aristotle says this classification had been used before Solon, and that the law-giver merely reassigned the population to these old classes, and changed the rights and privileges of each.²⁰ The most important change was the admission of the *Thetes* to the Assembly and to the juries. Solon believed that the balance of power should still remain with the aristocrats, but that the lower classes should at least have justice. "The commons," he says, "had better follow their leaders, and neither be given too much rein nor yet be oppressed. For satiety breeds insolence when great wealth comes to men whose minds are not fitted for it."²¹ That the law should not remain the exclusive possession of the nobles, he had the new laws inscribed on pillars and set up in the King's Porch.²² But the moderation of Solon, as has already been pointed out, did not please either class. The nobles did not wish to give up any of their old privileges, and the poor had hoped for still more radical measures, such as the redistribution of lands.²³ "I gave the commons," records Solon, "as much power as sufficed, neither

¹⁸ Cf. Busolt, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 259, Note 2.

¹⁹ Plutarch, *Solon*, 18. *Pentacosiomedimni* = 500 medimni men; *Hippeis* = 300; *Zeugitae* = 200; *Thetes* = below 200.

²⁰ Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, 7. Beloch (*op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 366) thinks that the *Pentacosiomedimni* were created by Solon, but that the other classes existed before his time. Botsford (*op. cit.*, p. 164, *et seq.*) says that redistribution was necessary because of the confusion of the economic situation. Cf. Busolt, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 265, Note 4.

²¹ Solon, 4.

²² Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, 7; Plutarch, *Solon*, 25.

²³ *Ibid.*, 13.

detracting from their honor nor adding thereto. As for those who possessed might and were illustrious in wealth, for them I planned that they should suffer naught unseemly. I stood, too, with my shield about both parties, suffering neither to gain an unjust victory."²⁴ The quarreling between the classes, however, went on and later enabled Peisistratus to seize the tyranny.

In Megara also, about fifty years after Solon, the nobles were obliged to face a crisis. Upstarts who had grown rich through industry and trade were proving that wealth was more powerful than birth, and the old aristocracy found that their supremacy rested on no sure foundation. In the laments of Theognis may be found the attitude of a typical noble, who believed firmly in the good old social order. The nobles he identified with "the good" (οἱ ἀγαθοί, οἱ εὐθλοί, or οἱ βέλτιστοι), while he called the commons or rich commercial class "the base" (οἱ κακοί, or οἱ δειλοί). Wealth in the hands of the commons upset all his ideas of the fitness of things. "For verily it is fitting," he asserts, "for the bettermost to have wealth indeed, but poverty is proper for a mean man to bear."²⁵ The state, in his opinion, had indeed degenerated. "This state is still a state indeed, but its people truly are changed. Those who aforetime knew nor rights nor laws, but were wont to wear out goat-skins about their sides, and to inhabit this city, like stags, without the walls, are in these days noble. But they who were bettermost of yore, now are of low degree."²⁶ To Theognis the world was upside down.

Some of the nobles, like Theognis, would condescend to no compromise and maintained "with these we will not exchange our excellence for their wealth; for excellence is ever secure, but riches now one and now another of men possesses."²⁷ They thought, as did Solon, that the lower classes did not

²⁴ Solon, 3.

²⁵ Theognis, 525-526.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 53-58.

²⁷ Theognis, 316-318.

know how to use wealth when once they had gained it.²⁸ But others of the nobles were quick to see what advantages might be obtained by joining forces with the rich. Marriages between the two classes became frequent, though they shocked the conservative Theognis. "'Tis wealth they value; noble man weds mean man's daughter, and mean man the daughter of the noble. Then marvel not that the race of citizens is obscured, for noble is mixed with base."²⁹ By the end of the century the two classes had probably amalgamated and joined in their efforts to keep those still poorer in their proper places. The rise of aristocracy of wealth which forgets its origin and in turn oppresses the unfortunate is thus an old phenomenon.

While the tyrants represent a phase of the opposition to the old nobility, their courts took over many essentially aristocratic characteristics. In the odes of Pindar may be seen how a new nobility was built up with the old class pride and exclusiveness. The military virtues were cultivated. Art and letters were patronized. The court at Syracuse was typical of many others. Polycrates of Samos and the Peisistratidae at Athens were centres of such circles. In order to break down the political and social power of the old nobility, the tyrants took measures that made for democratization. At Athens, for example, the new or elaborated festivals with their recitations of Homer and musical contests were important factors in the education of the people. The tyrants were practical men of affairs and knew the value of keeping happy the lower classes. Peisistratus, by dividing up estates of the nobles, founded a class of peasant proprietors.³⁰

With the growing importance of industry and trade a commercial class came into importance in each city. At first a middle class grew up between nobles and peasants.³¹ In

²⁸ Theognis, 321-322; Solon, 4. 3-4.

²⁹ Theognis, 189-192.

³⁰ Cf. Busolt, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 327 *et seq.*

³¹ Guirard, Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

cities where this occurred, such as Athens, the government became in time democratic.³² Elsewhere the old nobility entered trade, and the power remained in the hands of the old aristocracy, which, however, had become commercial.³³ This was the case in Corinth and Aegina. The commercial classes were the most progressive element in the state, and to them is due a large measure of the advancement of this period.

The literature of the sixth century is so far concerned with the habits of life, aims and ideals of the upper classes, that knowledge of the rest of the population is dependent on mere scraps of information. The lower classes are known only as they were related to the nobles, or to the laws and protection of the state, or to the observances of religion, but rarely are they to be seen in the light of their own estimate. Still they cannot exactly be called inarticulate. This is precluded by the artistic handiwork of the artisans, such as the potters. But literature still belonged to the few, so in the sixth century there is little hint of the growth in ability which was to make possible the democracy of the fifth century, though such an evolution was surely taking place. Glimpses of ordinary life are caught in vase paintings, but rarely is it heard about in literature.

In the laws of the time, however, it is made evident that the artisan and peasant classes were of importance to the state. The tyrants Cypselus and Periander encouraged commerce and thereby aided the growth of the middle class. They also helped the peasants by dividing the confiscated estates of the nobles. Realizing the necessity for maintaining an agricultural class, they made and enforced laws forbidding peasants to settle in the city. Periander attempted to maintain a large free industrial population by regulating slave traffic.³⁴ Solon placed the commercial future of Athens on a firm foundation by directing the attention of the people to the manufac-

³² Cf. Meyer, Eduard, *Kleine Schriften* (Halle, 1910), p. 119.

³³ Beloch, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 222.

³⁴ Heracl. Pont., *Polit.* 5, in Müller, II. 213; Nic. Dam., fr. 59, in Müller, III. 393.

turing industries and the production of oil, forbidding the export of all other products of the soil.³⁵ To aid the artisan class he also encouraged immigration, regulated the currency, and directed that the Areopagus punish those who did not live by their own labor. During the sixth century Corinth declined while Athens rose in power, but the change in the Corinthian situation was probably not evident until late in the century. At first it was rather that Athens progressed more rapidly than Corinth than that the latter receded. The decline of Corinth was perhaps due in part to the fact that the state attempted to control commerce and industry for her own benefit, rather than for individuals.³⁶ The widespread distribution of Athenian pottery and the lessening importance of Corinthian fabric are evidence of the change.

One more class of importance in the Greek cities must be mentioned. The metics or resident aliens must have everywhere, except in Lacedaemonia, formed an important section of the population. Unsettled political conditions had sent some men into enforced or voluntary exile. Enlarged commerce had made travel more frequent and more natural, and as craftsmen or traders many men were led to change their place of residence. The tyrants were quick to see the advantages accruing from the addition of such an element to their population. Solon's treatment of them is well known. He allowed those who were exiled for life from their native city or who transferred themselves and their families to Athens to practice their trades there to become Athenian citizens.³⁷ Such generosity with the citizenship was unfortunately withdrawn later, and this withdrawal accounts for the large number of metics in Athens in the fifth and later centuries. But in the sixth century the majority of the foreigners probably soon became members of the citizen body. Cleisthenes, according to Aristotle, enrolled resident aliens among the

³⁵ Plutarch, *Solon*, 22, 24; Cf. Botsford, *op. cit.*, p. 177 *et seq.*

³⁶ Francotte, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 108.

³⁷ Plutarch, *Solon*, 24.

citizens.³⁸ Later those foreigners who did not avail themselves of this opportunity are said to have been forbidden to work in the agora, except on the payment of a special tax.³⁹ That many foreigners plied their trades at Athens may be realized by the number of potters who had foreign, especially Oriental, names.⁴⁰

As to the condition of foreigners in other Greek cities less is known. Polycrates held out inducements to attract them to Samos. He gathered artisans about him for great pay.⁴¹ Whether they might attain to citizenship in other states than Athens, and if so, under what conditions, is not known. Sparta, with her usual conservatism, frowned on the settling of outsiders within her borders, unless they came for useful purposes, and expelled those whose presence was not considered beneficial to the state. In Sparta "useful" was much more limited in its meaning than in other states. Workers in artistic trades are said to have been expelled in an early period.⁴² Moreover, the restrictions imposed upon trade by iron money would not attract men from other parts of Greece to come for business purposes. In addition, Spartan citizens were not likely to become resident aliens elsewhere, both because they despised industry and trade, and because their movements were regulated and restrained by the government.⁴³

In Lacedaemon the social classification that prevailed was unique. The Spartan government controlled three separate classes,—the Spartan citizens, who were divided into nobles and commoners, the Perioeci, and the Helots. The Spartans

³⁸ Aristotle, *Pol.* III. 2.3.

³⁹ Demosthenes, ed. by Blass, F., 4th ed., 3 vols. (Leipsic, 1891), *Eubul.* 34.

⁴⁰ Cf. Walters, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 273 *et seq.*

⁴¹ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, ed. Weidmann (Leipsic, 1827), XII. 57.

⁴² Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 9, 26.

⁴³ Xenophon, *Pol. of Lac.*, 104.

were freemen who devoted their time to the manly occupations of war and hunting.⁴⁴ Although citizens and members of the assembly, most of them had little part in the control of the government, which was a close oligarchy. Their education was designed to make them fearless, crafty, and unthinking in their devotion and obedience to the state, and it succeeded remarkably well. The necessary labor in the fields and in the house was done for them by the Helots. Trade was forbidden them. They lived always in a condition of military preparedness. The women of their class were imbued with the same ideals of hardiness, courage, and loyalty. To maintain their place in the citizen body Spartans had to furnish their proper share in the common meals. If they were unable to do this, they lost their privileges, and fell into an inferior class, being known as *Hypomeiones*.⁴⁵ At the time of the Persian War there were about 8000 Spartans. Herodotus says that at this time "the whole number of the Lacedaemonians is very great and many are the cities which they inhabit."⁴⁶

The Perioeci were the occupants and citizens of the towns other than Sparta. According to Strabo there were anciently a hundred cities in Laconia.⁴⁷ The Perioeci served in the army as fully equipped warriors.⁴⁸ To them fell the task of carrying on the necessary manufacturing and trade throughout Lacedaemon. In Sparta they were accounted as friends and allies.⁴⁹ While their subservient position in regard to Sparta is shown by their obligation to mourn at the death of a Spartan king, their freedom is illustrated by the fact that they took part in Greek festivals and games.⁵⁰ The good

⁴⁴ Plutarch, *Lycurgus*; Xenophon, *Pol. of Lac.*, *passim*.

⁴⁵ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, III. 3.6.

⁴⁶ Herodotus, VII. 234.

⁴⁷ Strabo, VIII. 4.11.

⁴⁸ Herodotus, IX. 10.

⁴⁹ Plutarch, *Cleomenes*, 10; *Aratus*, 38.

⁵⁰ Herodotus, VI. 58; Pausanias, III. 22.7.

relations between them and the Spartans and their loyalty to Sparta are accounted for by Niese on the ground that they shared three important things,—nationality, speech, and religion.⁵¹ They were also due in part to the privileges just mentioned.

The Helots of Lacedaemon can best be described as state-serfs. They were attached to the soil and could not be sold out of the country.⁵² Many were engaged in agricultural labor. Others performed more personal service for the Spartans, such as fell to the lot of slaves in other states. The Helots, indeed, were slaves to all intents and purposes, but they belonged to the state as a whole rather than to the individual citizens.⁵³ In war they attended the Spartans, on one occasion at least in the proportion of seven Helots to each Spartan.⁵⁴ On the same expedition there was one Helot to each of the Perioeci.⁵⁵ They served as light-armed soldiers. Those who fell in battle were buried separately.⁵⁶ For unusual service or bravery occasional Helots were set free. Such freed Helots were known as *Neodamodeis*.⁵⁷ The Spartans, however, feared those who displayed courage or initiative and made every effort to get rid of them. A regular method of elimination was by the *Crypteia*—a war declared by the Ephors and waged by the young Spartans against the most formidable of them.⁵⁸ In later times, as they revolted

⁵¹ Niese, *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Landeskunde Lakedaemonen* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 101-142. This article is a most important one for the study of the Perioeci. Niese concludes that there were no racial differences between the Perioeci and Spartans. Cf. Busolt, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 519, Note 1.

⁵² Strabo, VIII. 5.4. The much disputed question as to the origin of the Helots does not enter into the field of this study.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Herodotus, IX. 10. This was in 479 B.C.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, IX. 29.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, IX. 85.

⁵⁷ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VI. 5.28; Thucydides, V. 34; VII. 58.

⁵⁸ Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 28.

again and again, treatment of them grew harsher.⁵⁹ But at no period was their lot enviable.

In Thessaly conditions somewhat resembled those in Lacedaemon. The feudal aristocracy of Thessaly and Macedon maintained longest the Homeric customs of life. The nobles passed their time in war, hunting, and feasting. Their virtues were those of bravery and hospitality.⁶⁰ The ruling class was supported by the labor of agricultural serfs, known as *Penestae*, who could not be sold out of the country nor be put to death.⁶¹ These serfs paid a tax on the land they cultivated instead of a percentage on the crop, and in good years were thus enabled to make money. Military service was required of them. Some of the surrounding tribes conquered by the Thessalians, such as the Phthiotians, Magnetes, and Perrhaebi, maintained a partial independence, as is shown by their participation in the Amphictyonic Council.⁶² They thus have some resemblance to the Perioeci of Lacedaemon, and that name is indeed given them by Xenophon.⁶³

The sixth century is the period in which the institution of slavery became important throughout Greece. Like many other features of Greek life, it came in its more extensive development from the East. The growth of industry demanded an increased number of workmen. Profit from industry enabled the freemen who engaged in it to purchase and use slaves. In the seventh century Miletus made a success of her textile industry, and in it employed ever larger numbers of women slaves. As the metal working and pottery trades, manufacturing for export as well as for home use, grew larger, the number of men slaves increased. The custom of thus using slaves spread throughout Ionia, to the Islands, and

⁵⁹ Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 27.

⁶⁰ Herodotus, V. 18.

⁶¹ Aristotle, *Politics*, II. 9.2; Athenaeus, VI. 87.

⁶² Aristotle, *Politics*, II. 9.3; Thucydides, II. 101; IV. 78; Aeschines, II. 116.

⁶³ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VI. 1.19.

to Greece proper. Instead of slaves being few and used only for agricultural labor and household service, by the sixth century they formed an ever increasing proportion of the population. Tradition said the people of Chios were the first who bought slaves for money,—a tale which was doubtless the result of a large slave population at an early date.⁶⁴

Slavery grew most rapidly in the cities where industry flourished. In agricultural communities it had a much slower development. Miletus, Corinth, Chalcis, and Aegina were naturally centres with many slaves. Periander of Corinth is said to have tried to limit the slave trade in order to aid free workmen and to enforce that favorite measure of rulers of the period, forbidding idleness.⁶⁵ Solon made the same attempt and is said to have drawn the idea from Amasis of Egypt.⁶⁶ Not until Athens rose to preeminence toward the end of the sixth century did her slave population become large.⁶⁷

The sources whence slaves came were various even in this early period of development of the institution. Before the reforms of Solon slavery for debt was common in Attica and doubtless in other Greek states.⁶⁸ Until forbidden by Solon men could apparently sell their sisters and daughters into slavery at will.⁶⁹ Exposed infants became the property of anyone who rescued them. At times slavery was legal punishment.⁷⁰ Prisoners of war also became slaves unless they were ransomed. Polycrates of Samos used Lesbians thus captured to build fortifications.⁷¹ They worked in fetters, as

⁶⁴ Theopompus, fr. 134. Cf. Müller, *op. cit.*, I. 300.

⁶⁵ Heracl. Pont., *Polit.* 5 (Cf. Müller, II. 213); Nic. Dam. fr. 59 (Cf. Müller, III. 393).

⁶⁶ Plutarch, *Solon*, 22; Herodotus, II. 177; Diodorus, I. 77.5.

⁶⁷ It was then reduced by the act of Cleisthenes giving the citizenship to a number of slaves. Aristotle, *Politics*, III. 2.3.

⁶⁸ Plutarch, *Solon*, 15; Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, 6.

⁶⁹ Plutarch, *Solon*, 23.

⁷⁰ Nic. Dam., fr. 129.2 (Cf. Müller, III. 461).

⁷¹ Herodotus, III. 39.

did the Lacedaemonians whom the Tegeans took prisoners.⁷² The fetters by which Chalcidic and Boeotian captives were bound until ransomed were long treasured by the Athenians.⁷³ Gelon sold abroad as slaves the common people of Megara Hyblaea, and of Euboea in Sicily.⁷⁴ Men who fell prey to pirates could hope for nothing better than slavery. Raids to distant places for the purpose of kidnapping slaves belong for the most part to a later period. In Asia Minor there were more barbarian slaves than in Greece proper. Hipponax speaks of Phrygian slaves who ground barley at Miletus.⁷⁵ There seem to have been few or no slaves in Lacedaemon, where their place was filled by the Helots.

Slaves were put to three general uses. Some, by far the smallest number, were household slaves. They were cooks, weavers, nurses, and so on, and formed an integral part of the family. Only the rich, however, enjoyed their services. Much of the household work was done by the women of the family. Tradition told of a time when the Greeks had no household slaves, and while that day was past, the period when the Greeks became largely dependent on slaves for manual labor had not appeared.⁷⁶ Other slaves were used in agricultural work, for the cultivation of the grain, the vine, and the other staple necessities of life. On small estates these slaves must also have been closely related to the family life. Finally slaves were used in industry,—in the work-rooms where pottery was made, in blacksmiths' and goldsmiths' and silversmiths' shops, in small "factories" where cloth was woven or leather goods made. A vase a little later than this period illustrates a pottery, and shows that about seven people, slave and free, were employed under the direction of a super-

⁷² Herodotus, I. 66.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, V. 77.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, VII. 156.

⁷⁵ Hipponax, 43.

⁷⁶ Herodotus, VI. 137.

intendent.⁷⁷ It is known that in the trades freemen and slaves worked side by side even in later centuries.⁷⁸

While the slaves remained comparatively few and relations with the master could be intimate, they were on the whole well-treated. The Athenian slaves who attended their masters and fell in the war with Aegina late in the sixth century, were given a public burial and tombstone.⁷⁹ It is true that prisoners of war were cruelly treated, but they were exceptional. To guard against danger they were set to work in chains, or employed in the mines,—a form of slavery that was particularly dreaded. Revolt might always be looked for among them, for by birth they were free and brave. The broken spirit that resulted from slavery was recognized and advantage taken of it. "Never is a slavish head erect, but always crooked, and has the neck askance," says Theognis.⁸⁰ "For neither from the squill do roses or hyacinths spring, no, nor ever from a bondwoman a free-spirited child." Yet the real evil of slavery, in its effects on either the free or the slave population, was not yet evident.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Walters, *op. cit.*, vol. i, fig. 70 (One of the workmen is being beaten, which must mean that he is a slave).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 233.

⁷⁹ Pausanias, I. 29.6.

⁸⁰ Theognis, 535-538.

⁸¹ The evils ultimately arising from slavery are discussed by Eduard Meyer in his article on slavery in his *Kleine Schriften*.

CHAPTER III

THE STATUS OF WOMEN

In the sixth century as well as in the seventh Greek women of the better class held a place midway between the positions occupied by the women described by Homer and those of the classical period. They no longer enjoyed the freedom which the simplicity of earlier society had made possible, but they were not yet limited by the restrictions that caused the inferiority of women in the great period of Greece. The sixth century was a period of political and economic development which opened to men new fields of endeavor and offered them such opportunities for expression of personality as had never before been presented. The relationship of Greek women to this age of progress was different. The growth of civilization tended to restrict their action and thereby narrow their interests. The epic age of freedom had passed. With oriental influence came the custom of segregating women, which the Ionic peoples in particular adopted. The position of Dorian women was little if at all changed from earlier times. In Aeolic Lesbos, however, an unusually liberal spirit prevailed, which made possible the development of such a genius as Sappho. Here the great passion of the age, expression of personality, was shared by the women as well as by the men, and this led to their attaining extraordinary preeminence in intellectual life and culture. Women of the lower classes everywhere enjoyed freedom of movement, but the tendency to restrict upper class women to their homes and duties there was beginning to take shape. The industrious housewife and mother, whom Semonides of Amorgus had praised, was becoming fixed as the ideal of womanhood.¹

Besides Sappho and the other women writers, the chief contemporary sources of this period are all men, who reflect

¹ Semonides, 7. 83-93.

various attitudes toward women and their place in the world. Semonides, in a satire which is one of the bitterest ever directed against women, cynically says, "Zeus made this greatest evil—women."² To most of the poets women are incidental—pleasures or nuisances as the case may be. But there are references to them in Archilochus, Anacreon, Mimnermus, Solon, Alcman, Theognis, and others, and from this fragmentary evidence must be constructed something of the life, material surroundings, occupations, and ideals of the women of this age. Vase paintings aid by showing women at home, in religious festivals and ceremonies and in myths, often adding illuminating details to the knowledge acquired from literary sources.

The greatest woman of the age—Sappho—has achieved the reputation also of being one of the greatest women of all time. Too little of her poetry is left to reconstruct with certainty the details of her life, but there is enough to reveal the temper of her personality and genius. Other women of the period, Corinna, Myrtis, Praxilla, Telesilla, Erinna, live in memory and tradition, but not in their own work. Sappho is the only woman through whom we can know women, and the question how far a genius can be considered representative is difficult to determine. It remains, however, that she is one of the chief sources for knowledge of the women of the period. Aeolic Lesbos, the life of Sappho shows, permitted greater freedom to its women than did apparently most Greek lands. In the early sixth century it was an intellectual centre, and at least some women came from other places to sit at the feet of the leaders and learn wisdom of them.³ Little, however, is known of the "wisdom" of the maidens of Sappho's circle, and it is uncertain to what extent the name of "school" may be applied to them.⁴ It is chiefly because of the

² Semonides, 7. 96.

³ Sappho seems to have had a rival in Andromeda. Cf. Sappho, 39.

⁴ σοφία, —*Ibid.*, 70.

genius of their leader herself that her line,—“some one will remember us hereafter,” is true.⁵ The memory of their beauty and friendship and joy in living is dependent on a few stray verses that have survived the centuries. “I do not think that any maiden so wise (as thou) shall ever in all time to come see the light of the sun,” sings Sappho of one of her otherwise forgotten followers.⁶ Their lasting friendships, however, still live in the lines,—“Atthis, thy friend and mine—Mnasidika, dwells at Sardis far away, but she often bends her thoughts hither about the life which once we lived together, the while she thought thee like a glorious goddess and rejoiced most of all in thy song . . . ”⁷ To another friend and pupil, Sappho said,—“To her I answered, ‘Go away rejoicing, and remember me because thou knowest how I cared for thee. If not, I would fain remind thee of what thou forgettest, that is, how dear and beautiful were the things we enjoyed together.’”⁸

The fame rather than the works of the other poetesses of this period has come down to us. The one tiny fragment ascribed to Telesilla is insufficient to give any idea of her or her work.⁹ Corinna of Tanagra in Boeotia also enjoyed a great reputation, and was later honored by a statue in her native city.¹⁰ She is said to have gained a poetical victory over Pindar at Thebes, and then inconsistently she blamed Myrtis, another Boeotian poet, for attempting, since she was a woman, to vie with him.¹¹ About twenty lines of hers are still extant, divided among fourteen fragments. Of Praxilla,

⁵ Sappho, 27.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁷ Sappho, in Edmonds, J. M., *The New Fragments of Alcaeus, Sappho, and Corinna* (Cambridge, 1909), p. 13.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 12.

⁹ Telesilla, 1. “Ἀδ’ Ἀρτεμῖς, ὦ κόραι, | φεύγουσα τὸν Ἀλφειόν·

¹⁰ Pausanias, IX. 22.3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XI. 22.3; Aelian, *Varia Historia* (Dresden, 1744), XIII. 25; Corinna, 12.

whose *floruit* comes a little later (450 B.C.), fewer than ten lines remain. Of the verse of Erinna about twenty-five lines have survived.¹² All that is known of the early Pythagorean women, who belonged to this same period, is their fame for their philosophy and their virtues.¹³

Besides the women who won honor in literature, other unusual women of the period cannot be overlooked. Some women came to the fore even in the active life of administration. Pheretima, the mother of Arcesilaus, is said to have ruled for a time at Cyrene, enjoying the privileges that belonged by right to her son, "managing the government, and taking her seat at the council-board."¹⁴ At the end of this period Artemesia reigned over Halicarnassus, Cos, Nisyrus, and Calydna, and became an ally of Xerxes in his expedition against Greece.¹⁵ Her father was a Halicarnassian and her mother a Cretan. The appearance of a woman in arms against them was considered an insult by the Athenians.¹⁶ Telesilla, distinguished as a poetess, was revered at Argos because she was said to have organized the women, old men, and slaves for defence against the Lacedaemonians.¹⁷ These women were all of high rank, and probably all who in any way belonged to "the intellectuals" belonged to the upper classes.

Difficulty in the way of describing the status of women in the sixth century arises from the fact that the condition of women in different parts of the Hellenic world varied greatly. In Ionia eastern influence was strong, and the tendency toward segregation began early. Herodotus rightly attributed it in part to intermarriage between Greeks and Carians, but he does not realize that it is due merely to the retention of an oriental

¹² These fragments may be found in the *Anthologia Lyrica*.

¹³ Cf. Carroll, Mitchell, *Greek Women* (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 306 *et seq.*

¹⁴ Herodotus, IV. 165; Heracl. Pont., *Polit.* 5 (Cf. Müller, II. 212).

¹⁵ Herodotus, VII. 99.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* VIII. 93.

¹⁷ Pausanias, II. 20.8-10.

custom.¹⁸ The freedom of Spartan women, on the other hand, was famous, and the peculiar Dorian treatment of women is recorded in Xenophon's "Polity of the Lacedaemonians," and in Plutarch's "Lycurgus."¹⁹ The earlier period in Sparta, before law and discipline put an end to luxury and extravagance, is reflected in the *Parthenia* of Alcman. At Athens the legislation of Solon affecting women shows that they enjoyed more liberty before his time than later, and that in the sixth century the tendency to restrict their actions grew stronger.

As in all ages the physical charm of women held a high place in any estimate of them. Among the Greeks this was of course especially true. Semonides emphasizes it by his attack on the ugly woman—"from a monkey."²⁰ To him her ill-favored face, thick neck, and crooked limbs betoken an evil soul as well. Physical appearance signifies the whole woman. It can easily be imagined that all of the beloved women, and those who gained honor and fame were surely fair to look upon. Sappho speaks of Mnasiatika as "shining among the Lydian women as sometimes doth the rosy-fingered moon after sunset, among the surrounding stars, when she holds her light over the salt sea and likewise over the flower-spangled fields."²¹ She loved to compare a girl to some beauty of nature, to the sweet apple reddening at the end of a branch, for example.²² Her own daughter, she said, had "a form resembling golden flowers."²³ That women made the most of their beauty is known from mirrors and other toilet articles found as well as from such descriptions as that of

¹⁸ Herodotus, I. 146.

¹⁹ Spartan women were not allowed to engage in sedentary pursuits, and they were given training in sports and exercise to make them strong mothers of a healthy race.

²⁰ Semonides, 7. 71-82.

²¹ Sappho, Edmonds, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

²² Sappho, 91.

²³ *Ibid.*, 84.

the maiden to whom Sappho said, "Thou at my side didst twine about thy hair many wreaths of violets and roses sweet, and about thy delicate neck many woven garlands made of a hundred flowers, and didst anoint thy youthful skin with many a jar of costly and royal myrrh."²⁴

But the intellectual charm of women even this early was dominant, for it is Sappho also who is reputed to have said, "I would not exchange my mind for your beauty."²⁵ Whether or not she really said this, it is true that now for the first time women won honor for their intellectual attainments. The statue erected in honor of Corinna in her native city for her poetical victory over Pindar has already been mentioned.

The moral status of women at this period is apt to be judged by reference to Sappho. The character of Sappho, however, long interpreted in the worse possible light, was vindicated about a century ago.²⁶ How far this vindication is to be extended to other women of her age is a question. Immorality was doubtless present, as in all ages, but there is no reason to think that it was out of proportion to the civilization of the period. The women of whom the poets sing are often women of beauty of character and influence, as well as of beauty of body, fitted in every way to be compared to the Olympian goddesses. Neither Greek goddesses nor Greek women can be judged by a modern code of morals. Moreover the assumption must be guarded against that immorality was a necessary correlative of close association between women.

The chief functions in the life of a Greek woman were those of wifehood and motherhood. Accordingly the central point in her life was marriage. It was, however, a matter over which she had little or no personal control, as all arrangements for it were made by her father or guardian. He car-

²⁴ Sappho, Edmonds, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

²⁵ Sappho, 12.

²⁶ Welcker, F. G., *Sappho von einem herrschenden Vorurtheil befreit* (Göttingen, 1816).

ried on negotiations either with the prospective son-in-law or with his father. A dowry fitting the station and wealth of the families concerned was taken by the girl to her new home. In order to discourage extravagance, Solon limited dowries and allowed a bride to take to her new home only three dresses and a few articles of furniture.²⁷ The age for marriage was early. Sparta alone seems to have had the reputation for prohibiting the marriage of immature girls.²⁸ There are few instances in the poetry of the period of love between men and women. There are, however, a few examples which show that there was some freedom of intercourse between them.²⁹ Conditions varied throughout the period and in different places, the tendency being toward less freedom, especially among the Ionians. On the whole, marriage was entered upon without regard to love. It was considered an important civic duty of men.

Alliances were based on class and economic distinctions. The laments of Theognis over mixed marriages because of economic necessity have already been noted. Marriages, however, among the ruling classes were often arranged for political purposes. Thus Peisistratus married the daughter of Megacles.³⁰ Another earlier notable instance is that of the Bacchiadae of Corinth, who intermarried in order to keep the power in their family. They were finally overthrown by Cypselus, whose mother Labda belonged to that family but could find no husband in it because she was lame.³¹ Marriage between members of different states were also common. Periander, the son of Cypselus, married Melissa, daughter of Proclus, tyrant of Epidaurus.³² Cylon married the daughter of Theagenes, tyrant of Megara.³³ Such marriages were

²⁷ Plutarch, *Solon*, 20.

²⁸ *Id.*, *Lycurgus*, 14.

²⁹ Anacreon, 9; Sappho, 88.

³⁰ Herodotus, I. 60, 61.

³¹ *Ibid.*, V. 92.

³² Pausanias, II. 28.8.

³³ Thucydides, I. 126; Pausanias, I. 28.1.

legal at Athens throughout this period.³⁴ The story of the gathering of suitors from all parts of Greece at the court of Cleisthenes of Sicyon is famous.³⁵ When after testing all in the gymnasia and at the banquet table, the father finally chose an Athenian, he betrothed his daughter to be the wife of Megacles "according to the laws of the Athenians," showing that the marriage came under the laws of the state of the bridegroom.³⁶ A member of Sappho's circle apparently married a noble of Sardis.³⁷ Such alliances point to friendly relations and considerable intercourse between Greeks and Lydians in the early sixth century.

The formal betrothal having taken place and arrangements about the dowry made, without necessarily consulting the girl, the wedding itself was celebrated. The form in this period probably varied little from either earlier or later times, for such customs always retain a traditional nature. The ceremonial washing of the bride and groom, the feast at the house of the bride's father, in which women participated, the procession to the new home with an escort of singing friends, the serenade there, and the reception of the guests the next day, were permanent features. Sparta with her usual conservatism clung to the old form of marriage by capture long after its real significance was gone.³⁸ In other states the wedding was accompanied by feasting and song. The bride took formal leave of her maidenhood by certain ritual acts, such as the dedication of her toys or locks of hair to a god or hero.³⁹ Wedding feasts were among the few occasions when

³⁴ Aristotle is applying a later law when he calls the marriage of Peisistratus to an Argive woman illegal. Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, 17. The legality is shown by the occurrence of such marriages, and the fact that children born of them (e.g., Themistocles) were considered citizens.

³⁵ Herodotus, VI. 126-130.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 130.

³⁷ Sappho, Edmonds, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

³⁸ Herodotus, VI. 65; Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 15.

³⁹ Herodotus, VI. 138; IV. 33, 34; Pausanias, I. 43.4; II. 32.1; II. 33.1.

women appeared in public. Among the poems of the period are many fragments of wedding songs. Sappho is said to have especially devoted herself to this branch of composition. In some of her fragments may be caught glimpses of wedding customs. The father "gives away" the bride.⁴⁰ Libations are poured with good wishes, as we would drink a toast. What Sappho says of the wedding feasts of gods was doubtless true of the wedding feasts of men: "And there the bowl of ambrosia first was mixed, and then Hermes took the leathern flask to pour out for the gods; they then all held their oblong cups and made libation, and wished the bridegroom good things in full measure."⁴¹ Apparently the bride and her happiness were of minor consideration. In Sappho, the moods of a wedding are reflected also. The bride muses: "Maidenhood, maidenhood, whither dost thou go when thou leavest me? Never again shall I come to thee, never again"⁴² And in his pride the groom is "much taller than a tall man."⁴³

There is little reference to married life in the poetry of the age. Little or no idea therefore can be gained of the ordinary relations of husband and wife. Men were frankly interested most in things outside of their homes. If they could maintain peace and comfort in the hours they spent there, it was all that could be expected or desired. Such certainly was the opinion of Semonides, who says of wives, "Even if they are some benefit, most of all they are an evil for their husbands."⁴⁴ His word for husband, *ἔχοντι*, effectively sums up his idea of the relationship. His ideal woman is the industrious one, like the bee, who is a good mother, an attentive wife, and interested only in her home.⁴⁵ Theognis speaks of the in expediency of a marriage between a young woman and an old man, but on the whole compatibility of temperament was little

⁴⁰ Sappho, 94.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 48, 49.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 103.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁴⁴ Semonides, 7. 97, 98.— *ἦν τι καὶ δοκέωσιν ὠφελεῖν ἔχοντί τοι μάλιστα γίγνεται κακόν.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 7. 83-93.

sought after in arranging marriages.⁴⁶ It must be remembered, however, that to the Greek marriage was a legal arrangement for the purpose of maintaining the family and providing children to carry on its name and wealth, and to fulfill its obligations to the state and to the gods. Common interests and cares must have usually led husband and wife to a mutual respect and moderate affection for one another. Happiness or unhappiness might come; it was a matter of chance. The seventh and sixth century poets for the most part represent the pessimistic point of view in regard to woman's character. "There are four kinds of women,"—declared Phocylides, "one is a dog, one a bee, one a horrid pig, and one a long-maned horse. This last is active, swift, roaming, and fair of form. The horrid pig is neither evil nor good. The dog is troublesome and wild. The bee is homekeeping and good and knows how to work. Pray, my friend, that a happy marriage may be thy lot."⁴⁷ There was perhaps one chance in four for happiness. Hipponax, however, was still more cynical. "Two days of sweetness man gets from a woman: when he marries her and when he buries her."⁴⁸ Yet, when all is said, there must have been many happy marriages and contented homes which were too commonplace to find their way into poetry.

There is little evidence, literary or archaeological, to aid in reconstructing the home where the Greek family of the seventh or sixth century lived. In the most recent book on the Greek house, this period is entirely ignored.⁴⁹ It may be assumed, however, that like later houses it was built around a central court, which was the centre of family life. The women had separate apartments, but not a separate court for their exclusive use.⁵⁰ Much of their everyday life was passed in the court (*αἶλή*). As the men were absent

⁴⁶ Theognis, 457-460.

⁴⁷ Phocylides, I.

⁴⁸ Hipponax, II.

⁴⁹ Rider, Bertha, *The Greek House* (Cambridge, 1916).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 233-237; Gardner, E., "The Greek House," in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXI (1901), p. 299.

a large part of the time, they often had it to themselves. It is not necessary to suppose that they always withdrew upon the entrance of a man not of the family. It is known that in the seventh century at any rate, a woman might meet her husband's guests.⁵¹ Such customs probably varied with the place and the class of society. The number of rooms depended upon the wealth of the family, and country houses could be more spacious than those in the city, where buildings were of necessity crowded together and often obliged to use party walls. No private houses were elaborate, and in a still later day the homes of such great men as Aristides and Miltiades were remarked upon for their simplicity and modesty.⁵²

The furniture of the Greek home was comparatively simple. Couches, tables, chairs and chests, together with household utensils, fulfilled all the needs of the family. They might be either simple or elaborately decorated. The couches, used both for beds at night and for reclining at meals, are to be seen on many vase paintings.⁵³ They consisted of a simple frame-work held together by leather thongs. Over this were spread draperies and cushions, which might be of simple homemade material or of luxurious fabrics imported from the Orient. The poorer folk slept on rushes or straw. The tables used were low and small, and in the vase paintings are seen close to the couches spread with dishes for a feast. Chairs were of different styles, with and without backs. Chests in which family possessions were kept might be simple wooden ones or beautifully decorated like the "Chest of Cypselus" at Olympia, described by Pausanias.⁵⁴ Looms for weaving were in practically every household for the use of the mistress and such slave women as she had. In this period rugs and other importations of the East were becoming more usual.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Semonides, 7.29.

⁵² Demosthenes, *Ol.* III. 25.

⁵³ Furt. and Reich. II, pl. 73.

⁵⁴ Pausanias, V. 17.5-19. 10.

⁵⁵ Francotte, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 138.

Household utensils were of metal or of clay. There were copper cauldrons for cooking over the fire. Pottery vessels of all shapes and sizes were used for storing and serving food. They might be of undecorated ware for the commonest use, but the great majority of vessels had some artistic decoration. Vase paintings thus transmit our most direct view of Greek life. Silent and unconscious, they show clearly what a Greek, or an Italian who had come under Greek influence, liked to have around him in his every-day life, in what myths and epic tales he was most interested, what games and pleasures he enjoyed. In addition to jars, bowls, pitchers, plates, and cups for culinary use, there were also toilet articles of clay, from large basins for bathing to tiny boxes for powders and unguents.⁵⁶ Even the poorest homes must have had a fair supply of pottery.

In general, while the man after marriage as before found his interests and amusements away from home, the woman became wrapped up in the daily duties and occupations of her household. The care of home and children, the preparation of clothing and food, formed the chief occupations of the Greek women. The "intellectuals" doubtless spent little of their time in this way, but they were exceptional and few. To labor with the grist-mill, to clean the house, to make comfortable her husband's friends, these duties, thinks Semonides, should occupy a woman's time.⁵⁷ Among the upper classes such menial tasks were performed by slaves. It must be remembered, however, that in this period slaves had not yet become numerous. Consequently, in the middle class, and sometimes in the case of the rich, much of the work of the home was still done by the women of the family. They also did the spinning and sewing necessary for the household. Women's industrial activities were limited almost entirely to the home. Yet women doubtless sometimes aided in their husbands' industries, and there were also slave women who

⁵⁶ Fowler and Wheeler, *op. cit.*, pp. 413-419.

⁵⁷ Semonides, 7.

were rented out or employed by their owners in "factories," a state of affairs which did not come to exist to any extent until the end of the period.⁵⁸ A woman at work in a potter's establishment is seen on a vase.⁵⁹ The social activities of a woman were also largely bounded by her home. That in this period she still met her husband's guests is shown in the passage from Semonides referred to above. From the same poet it is learned that women were wont to meet to gossip over neighborhood affairs.⁶⁰ They doubtless had more freedom to go upon the street and to make calls than in the classical period. The wedding feast was probably the only mixed gathering in which a woman of good repute had any share.

Much of a woman's time and interest was inevitably devoted to her children. The father's interest in his younger children, however, was small, at least it was not of the kind that found its way into literary expression.⁶¹ There is, of course, Simonides's exquisite fragment about Danae, as an illustration of what a man could write about a woman and a child.⁶² But examples of this kind are rare. It is in Sappho, as one might expect, that allusions to children are natural and tender. Reference has already been made to her own daughter, for whom she would not take all Lydia in exchange. Tenderly and beautifully she speaks of her,—"*Kleis the beloved, with a form like a golden flower.*"⁶³ In figures she uses children simply and directly. "I follow with flying feet, as a

⁵⁸ Pottier, Edmond, *Douris et les Peintres de Vases Grecs* (Paris, 1905), p. 20.

⁵⁹ Walters, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 224, fig. 72 (later).

⁶⁰ Semonides, 7. 90-91.

⁶¹ Such inscriptions as that given in *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, vol. i, Suppl. 491³⁰, the date of which is uncertain, from a tombstone erected to the memory of a daughter, bear touching witness to the affection of father and mother for their child.

⁶² Simonides of Ceos, 22.

⁶³ Sappho, 84.

child its mother";⁶⁴ and "Hesperus, who bringeth all things back which the bright dawn scatters, thou bringest the lamb and the goat, thou bringest the child to its mother."⁶⁵ The story that the men who were sent to kill the infant Cypselus could not carry out their task because the child, when put in turn in the arms of each, smiled up in their faces, illustrates tenderer feeling toward children than is often found in Greek literature.⁶⁶ The lullaby of Danae by Simonides shows the sentiment of mother love to be much the same in any age.

While intimate family life did not find its way into Greek literature to an appreciable extent, it may be supposed that family ties were strong. That ties of blood were usually held more binding than those of marriage is evidenced by the conduct and speech of Antigone, and by a similar story told by Herodotus, which, while placed in Persian setting, reflects the Greek attitude.⁶⁷ Theognis laments over undutiful children,—“the worst evil of all among men, more grievous than death and disease it is, if, when you have brought up children and provided all suitable things, when you have stored up wealth and suffered much trouble, they hate their father and pray for his death and despise him as if he were a beggar.”⁶⁸ But such conduct was not condoned,—“For those who dishonor their parents when growing old, there is no place of esteem.”⁶⁹ Athenian law required children to support their father, though illegitimate children are said to have been exempted from this rule by Solon.⁷⁰ On the other hand, Solonian law made it necessary for a father to have his sons taught a profitable trade. Neglect of this excused his chil-

⁶⁴ Sappho, 36.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁶⁶ Herodotus, V. 92.

⁶⁷ Herodotus, III. 119.

⁶⁸ Theognis, 273-278.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 821-822.

⁷⁰ Plutarch, *Solon*, 22.

dren from the obligation of caring for him.⁷¹ Until the time of Solon family inheritance of money and lands was the only kind recognized by law, and wills were impossible. Solon, however, permitted a childless man to bequeath his property as he would.⁷²

Women had their pleasures and amusements as well as their duties. For everyday recreation they might indulge in gossip with their neighbors, or spend time at an elaborate toilet.⁷³ As has been observed, they joined in wedding festivities. As they grew old they probably derived equal pleasure from funerals. Many attempts were made to curb them in the excessive display of the grief which they affected.⁷⁴ Women took part in local religious festivals, sometimes with men and sometimes separately. They also attended some of the greater religious gatherings. In an earlier age, the Ionians with their wives and children had assembled at Delos when the festival was celebrated there with games and choruses.⁷⁵ Women also viewed the contests of the Panathenaia.⁷⁶ While from Olympia, however, married women were excluded during the period of the great games,⁷⁷ apparently this restriction did not apply to maidens.⁷⁸ The priestess of Demeter Chamyne was an unofficial witness of the Olympic Games, and probably priestesses were present on many occasions which were forbidden to ordinary women.⁷⁹

⁷¹ Plutarch, *Solon*, 22.

⁷² Bequests obtained by violence or trickery or the "solicitations of a wife" were illegal. Plutarch, *Solon*, 21.

⁷³ *Archäologische Zeitung*, vol. 40, 1882, plate 7.

⁷⁴ Laws of Solon regulated funerals and mourning at Athens. Cf. Plutarch, *Solon*, 21. There were also regulations at Sparta. Cf. *Id.*, *Lycurgus*, 26.

⁷⁵ "Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo," 146-164, in Baumeister, A., *Hymni Homerici* (Leipsic, 1910).

⁷⁶ Pindar, *Pyth.* IX. 97 *seq.*

⁷⁷ Pausanias, V. 6.7.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, V. 13. 10; VI. 20.9.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

In Sparta it was provided that " . . . the girls, no less than boys, should go naked in processions, and dance and sing in festivals in the presence of the young men."⁸⁰ Dorian custom approved this for the sake of the physical development of women, and made no charge of immodesty against it. Ionic opinion, early influenced by the oriental tendency to seclude women, did not allow such freedom of action to its women. Their position grew more and more restricted, but the sixth century was far from seeing the completion of this development. Athletic contests were sometimes held in connection with women's festivals at places other than Sparta. For instance, at the Heraea held at Olympia, there were games consisting of races between virgins, in three groups according to age. Here they wore their hair down and a costume, a loose tunic, corresponding to that in the familiar statue of the Spartan runner.⁸¹ The winners received crowns of olive and shares of the sacrificed cow. They might dedicate statues of themselves with their names. Such an offering is the statue of the Spartan runner just mentioned, although this belongs to a later period.

There is little source material to aid in the reconstruction of women's dress in the sixth century. Herodotus tells that Athenian women were forbidden to use pins to fasten their clothes as a result of their having stabbed to death a messenger who brought unwelcome news.⁸² This story is referred to 568 B.C., but it probably belongs to an earlier period or is entirely mythical.⁸³ Up to the opening of the sixth century a woolen costume made in the Doric style was probably worn. This is seen on the Fates of the Francois vase.⁸⁴ Then the Ionic chiton of linen, elaborately draped, was introduced.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 14. Cf. Xenophon, *Pol. of Lac.* 1.

⁸¹ Pausanias, V. 16. 2-3.

⁸² Herodotus, V. 82-88.

⁸³ Abrahams, Ethel, *Greek Dress* (London, 1908), p. 42.

⁸⁴ Furt. and Reich. II. pl. 1, 2.

⁸⁵ Abrahams, *op. cit.*, p. 41 *et seq.*

The sumptuary laws of Solon were doubtless a protest against growing luxury from Ionia. An earlier luxurious costume is mentioned by Thucydides.⁸⁶ The dress seen on the "Maidens of the Acropolis" is thought to represent the style of the latter part of the sixth century.⁸⁷ Vase paintings also illustrate the development of dress. Imported clothes were fashionable then, as to-day. Scythian shoes are spoken of, but the finest footwear came from Lydia.⁸⁸ Three dresses were sufficient for a trousseau, according to the laws of Solon.⁸⁹ That number was also the most that a woman was allowed to carry with her when travelling.⁹⁰

No contemporary sources of this period show in what relationship women stood to the state and the law. The poetic nature of the literary sources precludes the recording even of such facts as might have existed. Moreover, in an age when the state first began to formulate its duties the less important matters—such as women—were ignored. Women were under the jurisdiction of their fathers or husbands, and the state did not interfere. As government became more complex, it extended its authority. In the legislation of Solon, as recorded by later writers, are found the first regulations for Athenian women. Sparta, under the constitution attributed to Lycurgus, had subordinated every phase of society to the common weal. The life of the Spartans, men and women alike, was arranged in every detail by law.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Thucydides, I. 6.

⁸⁷ "A careful study of the statues themselves and a consideration of all the evidence bearing on the question lead to the conclusion that the complete costume consists of two garments, a long under-dress, which may be regarded as the usual in-door costume of the Athenian ladies of the sixth century and a mantle worn over it for out-of-doors; occasionally a scarf or shawl is worn as well over the mantle, perhaps for additional warmth, perhaps only for ornament."—Abrahams, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁸⁸ Alcaeus, 78; Sappho, 17.

⁸⁹ Plutarch, *Solon*, 20.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁹¹ Xenophon, *Pol. of Lac.*, *passim*.

The laws of Solon relating to women include some of the earliest legal restrictions placed upon women, and set a precedent in Athens for further regulations restraining their freedom. The conditions under which a woman might travel, for instance, were specified,—she must not carry with her more than three dresses nor more than a specified amount of food or drink, her “trunk” must not exceed a fixed size, nor was she to travel at night, except in a wagon with a light in front.⁹² In order to suppress extravagance Solon required that dowries be diminished.⁹³ For the same reason he regulated both funerals and festivals.⁹⁴ The importance to the state of women as mothers is seen in his provisions to ensure an heiress’s having children to inherit her wealth.⁹⁵ The unfortunate economic situation is seen, as well as some hint given of the regard in which women were held, by his prohibition to men to sell their sisters and daughters, except in cases of unchastity.⁹⁶ These laws of Solon are illustrative of the general position of women before the law throughout the Greek world.

Since Hellenic religion was one of goddesses as well as of gods, it is natural that women had a share in its rites and ceremonies. That earlier time when “once Cretan women danced with tender feet to music round a lovely altar,” was not forgotten.⁹⁷ Its influence can be seen in those choruses of Spartan maidens for whom Alcman wrote his *Parthenia*. The Spartan of iron discipline and continual preparedness seems very far away from the radiant Agido and golden-haired Agesichora, but it seems certain that in a “golden age”, before either necessity or lust for power had changed the policy and whole nature of the Spartans, these bands of girls

⁹² Plutarch, *Solon*, 21.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 21. This applied to men as well as to women.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁹⁷ Sappho, 52.

played a prominent part in religious ceremonies.⁹⁸ Choruses of women were common in other parts of Greece, at Delos, for example.⁹⁹ Maenads, the frenzied worshippers of Dionysus, played an important part in Greek religion, and their revels were a favorite theme of vase painters.¹⁰⁰

When all is said, of the vast majority of women of the sixth century we know nothing. Of them it is true as of her of whom Sappho said, "Thou shalt lie dead and never shall there be remembrance of thee in the future, for thou dost not share in the roses of Pieria."¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Alcman, 5.

⁹⁹ Herodotus, IV. 35.

¹⁰⁰ Alcman, 18; Gerhard, E., *Auserlesene Griechische Vasen-bilder* (Berlin, 1840-1858), vol. i, pl. 31.

¹⁰¹ Sappho, 69.

CHAPTER IV

MEN—CIVIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

By the opening of the sixth century the days of old tribal warfare were entirely past and men had settled down to a life that was, generally speaking, civil rather than military. The peaceful occupations of industry and trade were beginning to flourish. While there were periods of civil strife in almost every Greek city, there were also periods of peace, usually under the tyrants, when recreation as well as business could be calmly pursued. Men found time for idling in the agora, exercising at the gymnasium, and making merry at festivals and feasts. In Thessaly, where old feudal aristocracy prevailed, hunting and riding were favorite sports.¹ There feasting retained the boisterous features of old Homeric days. The ideal of the noble, which Herodotus puts into the mouth of a Lydian prince, Alys, son of Croesus, was long retained:—"Formerly, my father, it was deemed the noblest and most suitable thing for me to frequent the wars and hunting parties, and win myself glory in them."² In Sparta the crystallization of the militaristic spirit caused the retention of the hardier arts of war and hunting. There the refinements of advancing civilization were forbidden, and even the earlier Spartan characteristics, which, as Alcman bears witness, did not converge on the militaristic ideal, were allowed to die out. But throughout most of the Greek world pleasure as well as business took on a more peaceful nature.

The Greek sought his recreation in sports and entertainments in which women had little part. While women were far from being secluded in this period, the general rule was

¹ Aristotle, *Politics*, II. 9.2; Herodotus, VII. 196; Plato, *Meno*, 70 A.

² Herodotus, I. 37.

followed that men associate with men and women with women. Practically, all public activities of women were of a religious nature. In the everyday life of men women had little part. Duty and custom bound them to a life at home. The southern climate led men to a care-free, out-of-door existence. The artisans followed their trades when possible in the open air. Men of the upper classes had plentiful leisure, and they rarely chose to spend it at home. In the morning they gathered in the market-place or the assembly, and mingled with their little business much discussion. After their mid-day meal, they often enjoyed a siesta such as is common in southern countries, or else played at dice or other quiet games.³ Later they went to the palaestra to practice or to watch the athletes. A quiet dinner at home ended the day, if there was no great banquet on hand.

The life of the Spartan, regulated by the state, did not follow this mode. A military career was the only fitting occupation for a Spartan. Anything that would hinder the development of the primary virtues of simplicity, obedience, bravery, and loyalty was forbidden. Only strengthening recreations were allowed. A Spartan under thirty years of age was forbidden to frequent the market-place. Men dined regularly at their own messes, and extravagant entertainment of guests was unknown.⁴ Their food was simple,—bread, cheese, figs, and of course the famous “black broth.”⁵ Fish and other luxuries were but occasional. Wine was drunk only in moderation.

But the greater part of the Greek world was learning more luxurious habits. From Lydia, through Ionia, came the use of rich clothing and food. Xenophanes, commenting on the customs of the times, says: “Learning useless luxuries from the Lydians, they go to the market-place with robes all purple-dyed,—thousands of them all together, boastful, proud of their

³ Herodotus, I. 63.

⁴ Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 10; Xenophon, *Pol. of Lac.*, 5.

⁵ Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 11.

beautifully arranged hair, shedding an odor of curiously-wrought perfume.”⁶ Herodotus says that the Lydians claimed the invention of many games played by the Greeks, such as dice, knuckle-bones, and ball.⁷ Such games, however, were of ancient origin and common to many peoples.⁸

The origin of the athletic contests which held a central position in Greek life is ascribed to the race of northern invaders rather than to the Minoans.⁹ The games seem to have developed from simple celebrations at funerals to periodical rites connected with hero-cults, and to have been finally taken over by the Olympian deities.¹⁰ Uninfluenced by foreign customs, these contests maintained the ideals of bodily strength and beauty which early took shape in the Greek mind. By the sixth century they were well established. In this formative period, when oriental thought and customs were contributing largely to Greek life, they were potent forces in determining what Hellenism was to be.

The importance of the games with their athletic contests in Greek life can hardly be overestimated. The Greek National Games and the local festivals of the same order were primary interests in the life of all Greek freemen. As religious institutions they commanded devoted observance from all. As opportunities for display of strength and skill, for friendly competition and recreation, they were attended by great popularity. In them duty and pleasure were combined. At the Great Games Hellenes from all parts of the Greek world came together and in meeting realized their unity of race and language. They traded their own products for those of other lands and made religious festivals the first commer-

⁶ Xenophanes, 3.

⁷ Herodotus, I. 94.

⁸ *Od.* VIII. 372, ball; *Od.* I. 107, draughts. Homer, *The Odyssey*, ed. by A. Platt (Cambridge, 1892).

⁹ Gardiner, E. Norman, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (London, 1910), p. 8 *et seq.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

cial centres. More important, they exchanged ideas, and with increased knowledge acquired broader sympathies. The influence of the Great Games in creating a Hellenic ideal and in aiding the growth of intellectual and spiritual unity was thus enormous.

Among the games those at Olympia in honor of Zeus held unchallenged first place. Their beginnings are lost in the mists of antiquity. Heracles is said to have first established them as a local festival.¹¹ The original fame of Olympia was due to an oracle there, but the great festival soon became the centre of attraction.¹² Once in four years, while a sacred peace reigned, Greeks thronged from east and west to take part in or watch the contests. Barbarians were not permitted to participate in them.¹³ Later, time was reckoned by Olympiads, with 776, the supposed year of the institution of the foot-race, as the starting-point. By the opening of the sixth century many other contests had been added, and competitions were held in the double foot-race, the pentathlon, boxing, racing with four horse chariots, the pankration for men, horse-racing, running and wrestling, and boxing for boys.¹⁴ Later new features were introduced, such as the race in armor in 520 B.C.¹⁵ The games were open to all irrespective of rank or riches. To maintain horses for the chariot races, however, required wealth, and only members of the great families were able to participate in this feature. Arcesilaus of Cyrene,¹⁶ Demaratus, a Spartan king,¹⁷ the Alcmaeonidae,¹⁸ were notable participants, while the Sicilian tyrants won great fame in these contests.¹⁹

¹¹ Pausanias, V. 7.7.

¹² Strabo, VIII. 3.30.

¹³ Herodotus, V. 22.

¹⁴ Pausanias, V. 8. 6-10.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, VI. 10.4.

¹⁶ Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.

¹⁷ Herodotus, VI. 70.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, VI. 125.

¹⁹ Pindar, *Ol.* 2; *Id.*, *Pyth.* 1, 2.

Victory in an Olympic contest brought honor both to the individual and to his city. The simple olive wreath with which the successful competitor was crowned was a symbol of the greatest glory.²⁰ An Olympic victory was an aid to a man in political or private life.²¹ The victor was allowed to erect a statue of himself in the precinct at Olympia. On his return to his native city, he was greeted with songs of praise, processions, and banquets. "If a man gains a victory by swiftness of foot or in the pentathlon in the precinct of Zeus at Olympia by the streams of Pisa, or in wrestling or boxing, or in the dread contest which they call the pankration," says Xenophanes, "he is to his fellow-citizens most glorious to look upon, and he gains the prominent front seat at the games, and feasting at the public expense, and a gift which may be an heirloom."²² An Athenian Olympic victor in the time of Solon was rewarded by his city with a gift of five hundred drachmas.²³ Many of the statues of this early period were of fig or cypress wood and have perished.²⁴ More beautiful and more lasting memorials are the odes of Pindar,²⁵ which celebrate such victories. In more fragmentary form are the encomia of Bacchylides and of Simonides of Ceos,²⁶ but they too heightened men's glory by their praise.²⁷

The Pythian games at Delphi were the outgrowth of an ancient hymn contest in honor of the god. After the Sacred War with Crisa, additional contests were established and likewise prizes were offered to athletes.²⁸ The Pythiads, like the Olympiads, four year periods, are counted from 586 B.C. A few years later (578 B.C.), prizes were discontinued,

²⁰ Pausanias, V. 7.7; Herodotus, VIII. 26.

²¹ Cf. Beloch, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 367.

²² Xenophanes, 2, 1-9.

²³ Plutarch, *Solon*, 23.

²⁴ Pausanias, VI. 18.7.

²⁵ Pindar, *Olympian Odes*.

²⁶ Cf. *Anthologia Lyrica*, pp. 277-85, and pp. 233-67.

²⁷ Herodotus, V. 102.

²⁸ Strabo, IX. 3.10.

and a crown of laurel substituted as reward for victory.²⁹ In the same year chariot racing was introduced,³⁰ and in 554 B.C. a competition in lyre playing was added.³¹ As was appropriate in games in honor of Apollo, musical contests held a place of high honor. Pindar's twelfth Pythian is in honor of Midas of Agrigentum, who twice won the prize for flute playing in the Pythian games (and once in the Panathenaea). Delphi's primary fame was due to her oracle, and its power overshadowed other activities of that holy place, but the Pythian games had no small share in making her the centre of the Greek world.

The Nemean Games, held every two years, were originally a hero festival for Archemorus, earlier known as Opheltes, but from about 576 B.C., they were held in honor of Zeus.³² The victors in the gymnastic, equestrian, and musical contests received wreaths of celery.³³ The Isthmian Games, held at the same interval as the Nemean, likewise had their inception in a hero festival to Melicertes (Palaemon), but later they became sacred to Poseidon.³⁴ They were conducted by the Corinthians, though tradition said that the Athenian hero Theseus had played a large part in their organization. Certain it is that the Athenians always participated prominently in them. Solon decreed that an Athenian victor in the Isthmian games should be given a reward of a hundred drachmas from the public treasury.³⁵ The games took the form which they maintained throughout the historical period early in the sixth century. The crown of victory was made of pine, and for a time of celery.³⁶

²⁹ *Marm. Par.* 38 (Müller, vol. i, p. 548); Pausanias, X. 7.5, 8.

³⁰ Pausanias, X. 7.6.

³¹ *Ibid.*, X. 7.7.

³² Cf. Strabo, VIII. 6.19; Pausanias, II. 15.3.

³³ Pausanias, VIII. 48.2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 44.8; II. 1.3. Also Plutarch, *Theseus*, 25.

³⁵ Plutarch, *Solon*, 23.

³⁶ Pausanias, VIII. 48.2.

The Great Games attained their importance by the support of minor festivals of the same kind. The local festivals, which were part of the everyday life of the people, prepared them in body and in spirit for the greater contests. In nameless meetings of the countryside, where the victors were garlanded with myrtle or with rose,³⁷ the youths first learned the joy of rivalry. After such training they dared to enter the more formal contests, such as the festival in honor of the Triopian Apollo, the victors in which received brass tripods as prizes,³⁸ or the Lycaean Games, celebrated on Mt. Lycaeus.³⁹ Often the prize was but a crown of palm and palm branches placed in the victor's right hand, and the contestants learned to strive for glory rather than for recompense.⁴⁰ When the reward was of intrinsic value, it was sometimes obligatory that it be dedicated to the god, and not carried away from the sacred precinct. Such was the requirement in the case of the tripods just mentioned.⁴¹ A woolen cloak was the reward at Pellene during this period.⁴² At Marathon silver vessels were awarded to the victor;⁴³ and the same prize was given at Sicyon,⁴⁴ and at other places. From the Panathenaea at Athens the victorious contestants bore away especially decorated jars of olive oil.⁴⁵ Many of these jars, bearing the inscription "from the games at Athens", still

³⁷ Simonides, 26.

³⁸ Herodotus, I. 144.

³⁹ Pindar, *Ol.* IX. 96; *Ol.* XIII. 107; *Nem.* X. 48. Also Pausanias, VIII. 38.5.

⁴⁰ Pausanias, VIII. 48.2.

⁴¹ Herodotus, I. 144.

⁴² Pindar, *Ol.* IX. 97 *et seq.*; *Nem.* X. 44.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, *Ol.* IX. 89.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, *Nem.* X. 43.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, *Nem.* X. 33-36. These jars, of black-figured technique, have usually a figure of Athena between two Doric columns on one side, and a picture of the athletic contest on the other. They bear the inscription "from the games at Athens." The earliest of them belong to the sixth century.

remain.⁴⁶ Games were held in honor of the gods, great and small, and also of the heroes.⁴⁷ While many of the festivals had been handed down from antiquity,⁴⁸ new ones were established in the period under discussion.⁴⁹

The contestants in the Great Games went through a special training before competing and often devoted much of their time to athletics, as did Milo of Croton.⁵⁰ Sculptor and poet labored to perpetuate their honor and fame. But it must be emphasized that participation in athletic contests played a large part in the life of all Greeks who were not debarred by reason of some physical deformity or weakness. Men of the city daily congregated in the palaestra to practice and to watch others. In the latter part of the sixth century, when genre scenes began to establish themselves in vase paintings, pictures of athletes became common, although they may be found throughout the period.⁵¹ The Spartans are said to have engaged in gymnastic exercises before the battle of Thermopylae.⁵² Constant practice developed strength and symmetry of body, and with this came the keen appreciation of physical beauty which was so basic a Hellenic trait.

From the extant literature of the sixth century it might easily be imagined that a Greek spent three fourths of his time at banquets. Thanks to the *Deipnosophistae* of Athenaeus many fragments of drinking songs are preserved from writers whose other works have almost entirely disappeared. Even

⁴⁶ Fowler and Wheeler, *op. cit.*, p. 483.

⁴⁷ For example, at the tomb of Iolaus. Cf. Pindar, *Ol.* IX. 98 *et seq.*

⁴⁸ The greater Panathenaia was founded by Peisistratus though based on the earlier ordinary Panathenaia.

⁴⁹ On the death of Miltiades, founder of the Chersonese, he was heroized and gymnastic contests were established in his honor. Cf. Herodotus, VI. 38.

⁵⁰ Herodotus, III. 137.

⁵¹ Walters, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 417; vol. ii, p. 162.

⁵² Herodotus, VII. 208.

if it is supposed that a disproportionate amount of poetry relating to feasting and drinking remains, it is evident that they held the central position among men's social occupations. The rich must have often entertained, and men with many friends found life a round of banquets. Yet "not every night does it fall to our lot to live delicately," said Theognis.⁵³ But while the quiet meals at home were unsung, there is ample material, literary and archaeological, to furnish a picture of the more formal feasts. At banquets other than wedding feasts women of good repute were never present.⁵⁴ Guests reclined on couches before low tables. Slave boys and girls, flute players, and dancers provided amusement. Sometimes the dogs lay under the table.⁵⁵ Such are the pictures shown by numerous vases belonging to this period.⁵⁶

Eating was only a subordinate part of the Symposium. Consequently there was little elaborately prepared food. Cooking had not yet become a fine art. Bread,⁵⁷ cakes, sometimes mixed with lentils or sesame,⁵⁸ cheese,⁵⁹ figs,⁶⁰ and honey⁶¹ were staple articles of diet. The lower classes were largely dependent on "figs and a barley loaf, food for a slave".⁶² A dish made of cheese, honey, and garlic was a favorite.⁶³ Fish of various kinds, especially tunny, was popular.⁶⁴ Pork was the most used of meat,⁶⁵ and small game, such as partridge

⁵³ Theognis, 474.

⁵⁴ Herodotus, V. 18.

⁵⁵ Furtwängler and Reichhold, *op. cit.*, II. pl. 73, 105.

⁵⁶ *Monumenti Inediti, Publicati dall'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica* (Rome, 1857), VI. pl. 33.

⁵⁷ Solon, 33; Hipponax, 15.

⁵⁸ Solon, 33; Hipponax, 33.

⁵⁹ Hipponax, 15.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 32.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 69.

and hares, was also served.⁶⁶ The national dish of Sparta was the famous "black broth."⁶⁷

After eating, a libation was poured, and the drinking began. Xenophanes describes the scene: "Now the floor is clean, and the hands of all, and the cups. One slave adorns us with twisted wreaths, and another stretches out fragrant perfume in a dish. The mixing bowl stands filled with happiness. Another wine is ready, which says it will never betray any one, mild in the jars, smelling of flowers. In our midst, frankincense sends up a holy odor. Cold water is here sweet and pure. Golden bread lies nearby and the table of honor is weighed down with cheese and rich honey. In the centre the altar is adorned with flowers. Song and rejoicing hold the house. First must the merry-making men hymn the god with religious phrases and pure words. After the libations and prayers for power to act justly,—for these are the next things at hand,—it is not unwonted to drink as much as one can and yet come home without an attendant, unless one be very old. That man is to be praised who, after drinking, displays such good things as memory and effort in behalf of virtue. Nor does he tell of battles with Titans or Giants or Centaurs, phantasies of olden times, nor violent strife of citizens. In these there is nothing good, but to honor the gods that is virtue."⁶⁸ Such was the feast the philosopher enjoyed. But more to his taste than the boisterous revels in which young nobles delighted were serious and dignified conversations. "These are the things to talk about before the fire in winter, reclining on a soft couch, having eaten your full, drinking sweet wine and eating vetches: Who are you and whence came you? How many years have you seen? How old were you when the Mede came?"⁶⁹

The day of the symposia of Socrates and Plato was not yet

⁶⁶ Hipponax, 33.

⁶⁷ Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 12.

⁶⁸ Xenophanes, 1.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.

come, but their germ was already present in this early time. Even Theognis knew the pleasure it was "to be invited to a feast and sit beside a man versed in all wisdom; to understand him whenever he speaks with judgment, that you may learn from him and return home with this gain."⁷⁰ But the feast that Theognis enjoyed was generally a more light-hearted affair. "Now let us drink and enjoy ourselves, speaking fair words. The future's in the care of the gods."⁷¹ And Phocylides declares,—"It is right when the cups go round at a symposium to sit chattering sweet words and to drink wine."⁷² Drinking was accompanied by song, more or less boisterous, as the case might be.⁷³ "Come, let us no longer thus with clash and confusion practise Scythian drinking, but moderately drink, with fair hymns."⁷⁴ Jokes flew round the table thick and fast, and to take them well was the sign of good sportsmanship.⁷⁵

Herodotus describes vividly the feast given by Cleisthenes of Sicyon to the wooers of his daughter Agariste. "After the feast was ended the suitors vied with each other in music and in speaking on a given subject. Presently, as the drinking advanced, Hippocleides, who quite dumbfounded the rest, called aloud to the flute player, and bade him strike up a dance, which the man did and Hippocleides danced to it. And he fancied that he was dancing excellently well, but Cleisthenes, who was observing him, began to misdoubt the whole business. Then Hippocleides, after a pause, told an attendant to bring in a table, and when it was brought, he mounted upon it, and danced first of all some Laconian figures, then some Attic ones; after which he stood on his head upon the table, and began to toss his legs about."⁷⁶ As

⁷⁰ Theognis, 563-566.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1047-48.

⁷² Phocylides, 9.

⁷³ Theognis, 531-534; 934-944.

⁷⁴ Anacreon, 45, a.

⁷⁵ Theognis, 311.

⁷⁶ Herodotus, VI. 129.

his conduct lost the Athenian his bride, it may be supposed that young nobles behaved more circumspectly and that such actions were ordinarily left to slave entertainers.

The poets repeatedly give directions for the mixing of the wine, as well as frequently reflect on its use and abuse. The Seythian custom of drinking wine unmixed with water was accounted barbarous⁷⁷ and immoderate, for "those who have drunk pure wine consider little."⁷⁸ Alcaeus recommended that two measures of water to one of wine be used.⁷⁹ Anacreon in one place prescribed the same combination,⁸⁰ while at another time he advised five measures of water to three of wine.⁸¹ Xenophanes directed that the water be poured in first and the wine over it.⁸² Wine provided Theognis with a favorite theme over which to moralize. "Wine, in part I praise thee, in part I blame. Nor can I wholly hate thee, nor wholly love thee. Thou art good and bad."⁸³ And again, he says: "To drink much wine is bad, but if a man drink prudently, it is not bad but good."⁸⁴

A custom to be mentioned in connection with banquets is that recorded by the so-called *kalos* vases. Certain vases, chiefly cylixes, bear the name of a man, together with the word *καλός*. A few have a girl's name with the adjective in the feminine.⁸⁵ Some are more indefinite, with merely the phrase *ὁ παῖς καλός*. These last must have been kept in stock by all potters, while the former were made to order. The names to a great extent belong to members of aristo-

⁷⁷ Herodotus, VI. 84; Anacreon, 45 a.

⁷⁸ Hipponax, 67.

⁷⁹ Alcaeus, 44.

⁸⁰ Anacreon, 45.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁸² Xenophanes, 4.

⁸³ Theognis, 873-875.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 211-212; 509-510.

⁸⁵ About 30 out of 560. Cf. Klein, *Die Griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*, 2nd. ed. (Leipsic, 1898), p. 2.

cratic families.⁸⁶ The complete significance of these cups is unknown, but they mark the Athenian tribute to beauty as well as to friendship. Perhaps they were used as place-cards or favors at a modern dinner party. The specimens found belong to the Attic ware of the last half of the sixth century and later, that is, to a period when society was becoming more highly developed and more luxurious.⁸⁷

The out-of-door life of the athlete introduces an atmosphere quite different from that of the drinking songs. Probably most men found pleasure in both palaestra and banquet hall. That Alcaeus enjoyed such a sport as sailing is shown by one of his fragments. "Why do we turn from the sea, letting the cold clear air pass like a drunken sleep? If going aboard at once, we grasped the rudder and loosed the ship, turning the sailyard to face the wind, we would be gayer and of happy heart, and it would take the place of a long draught of wine."⁸⁸

In such bits of poetry, in love songs, and in drinking songs may be seen the ideal of pleasure which this age raised. Simonides said: "Without pleasure, what life is desirable for mortals, or what tyranny? Without it not even the life time of the gods is enviable."⁸⁹ This *ἡδονή*, which all men sought, is the usual theme of the poets. "I delight in drinking and in singing to the flute. I delight in carrying the sweet-voiced lyre in my hands."⁹⁰ So sang Theognis. And Alcaeus cries out: "I feel the coming of the flowery spring; quickly mix the bowl of honey-sweet wine."⁹¹ The pleasure of the senses in the beauty of spring and of youth, in love, in feasting and drinking, seems to fulfill all the longings of the ordinary Greek of this century. The world is fair, life is short, seize what pleas-

⁸⁶ Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁸⁷ For the best discussion of the subject, see Klein, *op. cit.*

⁸⁸ Alcaeus, Edmonds, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁸⁹ Simonides, 54.

⁹⁰ Theognis, 533-534.

⁹¹ Alcaeus, 71.

ures ye may,—these at least are the moods most commonly expressed.⁹²

An important Greek social institution binding men together was that of guest-friendship. Relations under the name of *ξενία* were formal, not personal, and rested on the most sacred basis. Ordinary hospitality among the Greeks implied the formation of strong bonds of friendship and loyalty.⁹³ Guest-friendship was still more powerful. It was hereditary, and often continued through many generations. By it members of different states were joined together. Thus a man might have never met his "friends", and yet be bound to them by unbreakable ties. When a guest-friend came from across the sea, Theognis lamented that he was not able to entertain him more worthily. But in spite of poverty he must receive him in a fitting manner, and fulfill this supreme obligation, "so as not to fail one guest-friend of my father's."⁹⁴ A Greek and a barbarian might be guest-friends to one another. Such a relationship, for example, existed between Polycrates of Samos and Amasis of Egypt.⁹⁵ This guest-friendship was terminated on the initiative of Amasis by a formal dissolution of the contract.⁹⁶ Both the making and the breaking of such bonds would be accompanied by religious ceremonies.

⁹² Mimnermus, *passim*.

⁹³ Archilochus, 86; Herodotus, IX. 16.

⁹⁴ Theognis, 511-522.

⁹⁵ Herodotus, II. 182.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, III. 43.

CHAPTER V

AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, AND COMMERCE

By the opening of the sixth century the great period of Greek expansion and colonization was nearing its close. Greek cities had grown up throughout the Mediterranean world, bound in varying degrees of relationship by ties of economic dependence as well as of blood. The first strong impetus had been given to industry and commerce. The economic independence of the family unit had broken down some time since. Commercial relationships of city with city were growing more complicated, and a future economic interdependence was approaching. Such states as Miletus and Corinth, which had mothered many cities, had rosy prospects before them. Athens had taken no part in this colonial expansion, unless fortification of Sigeum about 600 B.C. be thus classified.¹ As yet she was unimportant in the commercial world, but by keeping her growing population at home she had created for herself an economic problem which could not be solved on the basis of the agricultural economy by which she had heretofore lived. She was as ready as any of the Greek states for industrial development.

Yet in spite of this necessary trend toward industrial development, the Greeks of the seventh century were primarily agricultural. Not only the rural population was dependent on the soil, but the townspeople also cultivated land for their sustenance, using the immediately surrounding territory. The description by Hesiod of Boeotian life about 700 B.C. still applied to many communities at a later date. In such places practically all men were farmers or herdsmen on a greater or lesser scale. The farm buildings and primitive implements

¹ Hicks and Hill, *op. cit.*, 7; Bury, *History of Greece* (London, 1900), p. 196.

were the product of hard labor.² The demand for manufactured goods was small and could almost be met by members of the household. In each community was a forge, where arms, armour, and metal implements were fashioned.³ There were also local leather workers and potters.⁴ Weaving was done at home by the members of the family and the female slaves. Slaves were, however, few, and the master shared actively in the work.⁵ The gain of commerce did not equal the risk of navigation. Life was maintained only by unremitting toil.⁷

In the sixth century also agriculture remained the fundamental occupation on which the prosperity of the state and of its inhabitants depended. The question of a food supply is always most vital to the well-being of a people. Even where other industries were developing, agriculture was still more important.⁸ The first and chief objects of commerce were agricultural products.⁹ The oil of Attica and the wine of many of the Aegean islands, and other such natural products, were the exports of greatest value.¹⁰ Agriculture furnished both means of sustenance at home and materials for commerce abroad.

Along the local lines previously noted industry first developed. With practice, technical skill advanced. Glaucus of Chios is said to have discovered the method of welding iron.¹¹ The knowledge of the casting of bronze is attributed to two

² Hesiod, *Work and Days*, 423-436, 503.

³ *Ibid.*, 493.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 459.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 618-694.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 382, 398-400.

⁸ Beloch, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 219.

⁹ Francotte, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 38.

¹⁰ Meyer, Eduard, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichtstheorie und zur Wirtschaftlichen und Politischen Geschichte des Altertums* (Halle, 1910), p. 105.

¹¹ Hesiod, I. 25; Pausanias, X. 16.1.

Samians, Rhoeus and Theodorus, who lived a little later.¹² Many local styles in the decoration of pottery flourished. Oriental influence in art and industry entered by way of Ionia. Some cities cultivated special lines of manufacture and became centres of trade for certain wares. Religious festivals furnished opportunities for commercial enterprise.¹³ Men of different cities not only exchanged their products, but their knowledge as well, and through such intercourse the methods of craftsmen and artists spread.

At the beginning of the sixth century the first steps in this industrial and commercial development had been taken in some of the cities. Chalcis was known for her metal work, Corinth for her pottery. Aegina controlled the carrying trade of the western Aegean. Miletus was the intermediary by which Oriental objects reached Greece, and she herself was learning to imitate their manufacture. Technical skill had advanced during the seventh century. In the making of pottery there was a great advance. Ordinary wares were artistically embellished, partly through eastern influence, partly that they might find a wider market, since commonplace objects could be made in every city. Transportation had also become easier. Corinth is said to have made the first European triremes,¹⁴ and Phocaea used long *penteconters*, instead of the usual round-built merchant ship.¹⁵ Religious festivals no longer afforded the only or chief opportunity for trade, though they were still important.

In still another way had the seventh century made commerce in the sixth century easier. The old system of barter had given way to the use of money. The memory of barter still persisted,¹⁶ and its use of *naturalia* was not entirely gone,

¹² Pausanias, VIII. 14.8.

¹³ *Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo*, 146-156; Strabo, X. 5; Pausanias, X. 32.15. Cf. Botsford, G. W., "Amphictyony", in *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed.

¹⁴ Thucydides, I. 13.

¹⁵ Herodotus, I. 163; Francotte, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 30, n.5.

¹⁶ Pausanias, III. 12.3.

as can be seen by Solon's classification of the Athenians by their income in medimni.¹⁷ In his time a sheep and a drachma and a medimnus of corn were each equivalent to the other.¹⁸ The question of the introduction and adoption of coinage is a mooted one, but for the most part it belongs to an earlier period than the one under consideration. It is usually said to have been imitated from Lydia.¹⁹ Pheidon of Argos (eighth century) is credited with being the first in Greece to stamp money,²⁰ though according to Herodotus he merely established weights and measures.²¹ Miletus, Phocaea, Samos, and other Ionian cities were the first to adopt a coinage. Their example was followed by Chalcis, Eretria, and Corinth, and others as their economic importance developed.²² In the sixth century money was widely diffused, and the coins of the period are of historical interest.

The problem of early Athenian coinage has given rise to much disagreement among authorities. It is known that the Aeginetan standard was in use but no Athenian coins belonging to that standard have been found.²³ Solon seems to have instituted the first Athenian coinage, which belonged to the Euboic standard.²⁴ This was probably as much for the purpose of facilitating trade with Chalcis, Corinth and the other cities which used this standard, and of freeing Athens of Aeginetan influence, as for lightening debts of the people by a kind of debasement of coinage.²⁵ Both the Aeginetan and the

¹⁷ Plutarch, *Solon*, 18.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁹ Herodotus, I. 94. Cf. Beloch, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 214 *et seq.* (ed. 1893).

²⁰ Strabo, VIII. 3.33; VIII. 6.16.

²¹ Herodotus, VI. 127; Gardner, P., *A History of Ancient Coinage* (Oxford, 1918), p. 112.

²² Hill, G. F., *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* (London, 1899), p. 8.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

²⁴ Plutarch, *Solon*, 15; Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, 10; Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

²⁵ Ridgeway, W., *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards* (Cambridge, 1892), p. 324.

Euboic-Chalcidic standards, as well as minor variations, were in use throughout the sixth century.²⁶ The Greek cities of Italy and Sicily were usually influenced in their choice of a standard by their parent city, for for sometime after colonization they continued to use imported money, not adopting coinage of their own until c. 550 B.C.²⁷

Natural products were the first objects of trade. Wine, oil, and the ever necessary grain were exported by the countries that produced them in abundance to the places where they were needed. Lesbos, for example, specialized in wine.²⁸ Athens found her most promising opportunity in the culture of the olive for oil. Certain agricultural regulations were included in the legislation of Solon.²⁹ Olive and fig trees could not be planted within nine feet of a neighbor's property, other trees within five feet. Bee-keeping was evidently common in Attica, as is shown by the prohibition of placing a hive within three hundred feet of a hive established by another man. The old occupation of grazing, whose ancient importance is shown by the association of Aegicores with a class of the population, fell behind agriculture in this period as the need for greater production in the latter field increased. Yet according to Plutarch Attica was better fitted for pasturage than for the growing of crops.³⁰

At the opening of the sixth century the most important cities of the Greek world, from an economic point of view, were Miletus and Phocaea, on the eastern coast of the Aegean, and Aegina, Corinth and Chalcis, on the western coast. They were centres both of industry and commerce. Many of the other cities of the Asia Minor coast were also prominent. The cities, for example, represented at Naucratis (founded c. 630) were Miletus, Samos, Chios, Teos, Phocaea, Clazomenae,

²⁶ Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-38.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-26.

²⁸ Alcaeus, 46.—"Plant no other tree before the vine."

²⁹ Plutarch, *Solon*, 23.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

Mytilene, Halicarnassus, Cnidos, Rhodes, Phaselis, and one city of the west,—Aegina. Of these Miletus, Samos and Aegina seem to have been the most important, since they had separate temples, while the others combined in supporting a temple called the Hellenium.³¹

The influence of the older civilizations of Lydia, Persia, and Egypt upon industry and commerce was especially great at this time. Herodotus says that Croesus was the first of the barbarians to hold relations with the Greeks.³² Certainly the sixth century saw a closer relationship with the East than any previous period. The full extent of the cultural influence of Lydia upon Greece is not yet known, but archaeological excavations will doubtless throw more light on the subject. Occasional references in the poets show that both social and commercial relationships were maintained with the Lydians. A passage in Sappho testifies to a Lydian-Greek marriage.³³ Lydian leather work was highly prized for sandals.³⁴ Xenophanes speaks of the Greeks "learning useless luxuries from the Lydians."³⁵ Highly valued luxuries came from the east,—gold, ivory, and ebony from Ethiopia;³⁶ frankincense, myrrh, cinnamon and other spices from Arabia.³⁷ Egypt, moreover, was now open to Greek trade, as the founding of Naucratis indicated. Greek mercenaries who served under Psammetichus and his successors brought back tales of the wonders of this ancient land, and doubtless led others on to engage in commerce with it. Wine was imported into Egypt

³¹ Herodotus, II. 178. Naucratis, granted by Amasis to the Greeks who came to Egypt for commercial purposes, was also the headquarters for Greek traders who did not settle there.

³² *Ibid.*, I. 6. "He conquered the Aeolians, Ionians, and Dorians of Asia, forcing some to become tributary to him and forming alliances with others. He also made a treaty with the Lacedaemonians."

³³ Sappho, Edmonds, J. M., *op. cit.*, p. 13.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

³⁵ Xenophanes, 3. Cf. Francotte, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 138.

³⁶ Herodotus, III. 114.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, III. 107.

from Greece.³⁸ Solon is said to have visited Egypt for business purposes as well as for the pleasure of travel.³⁹ From Egypt the Greeks gained a knowledge of the lore and wisdom of the past which the Egyptians had long been storing up. This they put to use, but they so transformed it by their creative genius that it is often difficult to recognize. The influence of Egypt may well have been still more potent than it appears.

Miletus was the leading city of Ionia. Herodotus says that after the death of the tyrant Thrasybulus (c. 610) and the arbitration of the subsequent domestic upheaval, she devoted herself to peaceable occupations and became the "glory of Ionia."⁴⁰ She owed her position in the sixth century in large part to the relations she maintained with Lydia,⁴¹ and afterwards with Persia. Contact with the highly developed civilization of the East gave impetus to her own manufactures, and likewise made her the intermediary through which oriental wares reached the rest of the Greek world. Especially noted was her trade with Sybaris.⁴² This position of preeminence she maintained throughout the sixth century. In her market were to be found fine woolen cloth, carpets, dyes, perfumes, and other luxuries, which her ships carried throughout the Greek world.

After Miletus, Phocaea was the most powerful commercial city in Asia Minor. In the preceding centuries she had sent out many colonies and thus widely extended her influence. The period of her greatest power, however, seems to have been about 602-560 B.C.⁴³ The coins of this period are widely scattered. She seems to have had least influence on

³⁸ Herodotus, III. 6. Cf. Francotte, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 134 *et seq.*

³⁹ Plutarch, *Solon*, 2, 26; Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, II.

⁴⁰ Herodotus, V. 28. Miletus exported pottery and wool. Cf. Francotte, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 66, 78, 130.

⁴¹ Herodotus, I. 22.

⁴² *Ibid.*, VI. 21; cf. Timaeus, fr. 60 (Müller, I. 205).

⁴³ Hill, *op. cit.* She had a great ceramic industry. Cf. Francotte, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 35.

the coast to the southward, for here other cities blocked her way. But she evidently had close relations with Thasos and Thrace, and her voyages to Tartessus in Spain show how far westward her ships sometimes went.⁴⁴ Her prosperity, however, was not long continued. In 545 B.C., the city was destroyed by the Persians and the people took refuge in their western colony Alalia, in Corsica.⁴⁵

The disappearance of Phocaea contributed to the growth of Ephesus.⁴⁶ This latter city, and likewise Smyrna, were situated to serve as intermediaries in the trade between east and west, and their prosperity advanced accordingly.⁴⁷ The island cities also became commercially important. Samos carried on trade with Egypt and with the far West. On one occasion, at least, her sailors penetrated as far as Tartessus in Spain, which Herodotus says was then unfrequented by Greek merchants, although the Phocaeans had also gone there. She exported fine woolen and purple cloth and her pottery was noted, though not much of it has been found.⁴⁸ Under Polycrates (c. 537 B.C.), she reached the height of her prosperity. Naxos produced wine, and is said to have at one time surpassed all other islands in prosperity.⁴⁹ Other islands whose commerce flourished were Lesbos, Thasos, and Chios.⁵⁰ This last island exported wine and pottery, and had a slave market.⁵¹ Further north, Cyzicus and Byzantium profited from their fisheries. Cyzicus was also a wine centre for the region about Pontus. The geographical location of the cities of the coast of Asia Minor caused them to become trading

⁴⁴ Herodotus, I. 163. "The Phocaeans were the first of the Greeks who made long voyages."

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 165.

⁴⁶ Holm, *History of Greece* (London, 1894), vol. i, p. 335.

⁴⁷ Strabo, XIV. 2.29.

⁴⁸ Walters, H. B., *History of Ancient Pottery* (New York, 1905), vol. i, p. 58, note 2.

⁴⁹ Herodotus, V. 28.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 165.

⁵¹ Francotte, *op cit.*, vol. i, pp. 53, 55.

centres at an early period. The contour of the coast made navigation easy, and the fact that they were situated comparatively close together made them turn to exchange as a natural outlet for their industries.

Aegina was the first important commercial city in the west. Forced by her unproductive soil to seek her livelihood by some other means than agriculture, she turned to industry and trade. Her metal work and pottery early became popular and found their way to various parts of the Greek world.⁵² "Aeginetan ware" became a familiar term.⁵³ The wide distribution of her commerce is attested to by the spread of the Aeginetan standard of coinage, which reached as far east as Cilicia and Cyprus and as far west as Sicily.⁵⁴ In return for her small wares Aegina imported foodstuffs. At the end of the sixth century, and doubtless much earlier also, grain was brought from the Black Sea region.⁵⁵ With the growth of other commercial cities Aegina's preeminence was called into question. Especially keen was her rivalry with Athens. Jealousy, added to ancient feuds, led to bitter enmity and frequent open warfare between them.⁵⁶

Another city which declined as Athens rose in power was Corinth. Her position in the earlier period is marked by the importance of Corinthian pottery.⁵⁷ Under the Bacchiadae she had become one of the leading powers and her prosperity continued under Cypselus and Periander. To her advantageous situation she owed much of her good fortune. She lay

⁵² Walters, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 54; Francotte, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 56, 66, 91.

⁵³ Strabo, VIII. 6.16.

⁵⁴ Hill, *Historical Greek Coins* (London, 1906), p. 5.

⁵⁵ Xerxes at the Hellespont saw grain vessels on their way to Aegina and the Peloponnese. Herodotus, VII. 147.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Walters, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 50-52, 317-321. The latest class of Corinthian vases belongs to 660-550 B.C. One vase of this class resembles the Chest of Cypselus at Olympia, described by Pausanias, V. 17.5-19. 10. Cf. Francotte, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 61.

at the meeting place of east and west, for merchants from Asia and from Sicily often preferred to transport their goods across the Isthmus rather than to risk the more dangerous route around Cape Malea.⁵⁸ For this privilege a toll was paid to Corinth, which, while moderate, yielded a large revenue. The Isthmian Games, celebrated nearby, were also of advantage to the city, for they attracted large numbers of people, many of whom came for business as well as religious purposes.⁵⁹ The Greek games, both Great and lesser, were always important centres of trade. Corinth, moreover, maintained close commercial relations with her colonies. The tyrant Cypselus supported this form of expansion and his successor, Periander, pursued a practical policy by aiding the free industrial population at home as well as by encouraging intercourse with Lydia and Egypt.⁶⁰ During the sixth century Corinth's supremacy waned. Less progress was made under the oligarchy than under the tyrants, and the forward movement in other cities, notably Athens, swept them ahead, while Corinth remained conservative and static. Francotte suggests that the decay of Corinth was due to the policy of control by the state and for the state, which was practised, instead of a policy of individual initiative, which might have led to its becoming a great democratic commercial power.⁶¹

Chalcis was both agricultural and industrial. The possession of land marked the rich, but the valuable copper-mines of Euboea also brought wealth to the Chalcidians.⁶² Chalcidic metal work was famous.⁶³ Cups and other beautifully

⁵⁸ Strabo, VIII. 6.20.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* Her exports included metal work and wool as well as pottery. Cf. Francotte, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 78, 91.

⁶⁰ Nic. Dam. fr. 59, 60 (Müller, III. 393, 394). Also Heracl. Pont. 5 (Müller, II. 213); Herodotus, III. 48.

⁶¹ Francotte, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 107-108.

⁶² *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 32, 33.

⁶³ Pottery inscribed in the Chalcidic dialect shows signs of imitation of metal originals. Cf. Walters, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 321. Also Francotte, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 66, 89.

wrought vessels were prized by rich men or as temple property, while Chalcidic arms were no less sought after.⁶⁴ The prosperity of Chalcis was brought to a sudden end by her subjugation by Athens towards the close of the century.

In more distant parts of the world important Greek cities were also growing up. The foundation of Naucratis has already been mentioned. Cyrene was a centre for the export of products of northern Africa, which were largely agricultural. So-called Cyrenaic vases may mark some industrial development, though they have been found at Naucratis and Samos rather than at Cyrene.⁶⁵ Silphium was grown in this part of Africa⁶⁶ and its importance in the trade of Cyrene is known by the "Arcesilaus Vase", which shows the king watching a ship being loaded with silphium.⁶⁷ This vase probably belongs to the second quarter of the sixth century. In the west the Sicilian and Italian cities were chiefly agricultural.⁶⁸ That they carried on extensive trade with the cities of Greece proper is shown by the large amount of pottery, especially Athenian, found throughout Italy.⁶⁹ The Greek cities were intermediaries in the trade with the natives of Latium, Campania, and Etruria. Cumae and Sybaris were particularly well situated to profit by this means. The Sybarites imported their luxuries from Etruria and from the east.⁷⁰ Their use of Milesian wool was responsible for their close friendship with Miletus, already noted. Wine was their chief product, which they in part used and in part exported.⁷¹ Their great prosperity made possible an indulgence in luxury that was eastern in its magnificence, and they so far outstripped their

⁶⁴ Alcaeus, 56.6. Χαλκίδικαι σπάθαι; cf. Francotte, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 88.

⁶⁵ Walters, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 341-344.

⁶⁶ Herodotus, IV. 169.

⁶⁷ Baumeister, A., *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, 3 vols. (Munich, 1884-88), vol. iii, p. 1664, fig. 1728.

⁶⁸ Herodotus, VII. 155; Diodorus, XIII. 81.

⁶⁹ Walters, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 72-87.

⁷⁰ Timaeus, fr. 60 (Müller, I. 205).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

neighbors that, though their city soon vanished, sybaritic became a lasting synonym for luxurious.

Athens was the city that progressed most during the sixth century. At the beginning of the period industry and commerce were undeveloped and a large part of her population was in poverty and despair. By the opening of the Persian War she was one of the foremost cities of Greece from an economic and a political point of view, and she had a large free population trained by individual effort in industry and trade to take an independent part in political affairs.⁷² This development was gradual but steady and received its greatest impulses from the legislation of Solon and the fostering care of Peisistratus. They also aided the agricultural classes of the community, for they realized that agriculture was the foundation upon which economic stability depended. Eduard Meyer notes that Attica was originally commercially dependent on Aegina and that her emancipation began when the Chalcidic standard of coinage was adopted by Solon.⁷³ The rivalry between the two states continued throughout the century and ended in the downfall of Aegina. In the same way Athens had gradually assumed the ascendancy over other states. She was preparing for her great period, the fifth century.

Solon's reforms aimed to set the state on a sure economic foundation. He realized that it was not sufficient to remove the mortgage pillars and to restore the enslaved to liberty,⁷⁴ but that constructive measures must likewise be taken. "Seeing that the city was filled with men who had come from all countries to take refuge in Attica,⁷⁵ that much of the country

⁷² Early political training in Attica was gained through the *naucraries*, subdivisions of the tribes (twelve to a tribe), each of which provided a ship, and through which taxes were assessed and administered.

⁷³ Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

⁷⁴ Solon, 32, 3.17.

⁷⁵ The presence of foreigners in the sixth century in Athens is marked by inscriptions.—Roberts, E. S., and Gardiner, E. A., *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy* (Cambridge, 1887, 1905), vol. i, p. 47,—Archerms, who was a Chian marble worker; p. 48, an islander (νησιώτης), who was a musician (κθαρωδός).

was poor and unproductive, and that merchants were unwilling to send goods into a country which had nothing to export, he encouraged his fellow citizens to enter trade."⁷⁶ Heretofore agriculture had been the only honorable occupation, but Solon, knowing that the soil was too poor to support so many people, gave honor to other means of gaining a livelihood.⁷⁷ The Areopagus was to oversee all and to require industry on the part of every one. Since the products of agriculture were required at home, Solon forbade the exportation of all except oil.⁷⁸ This, together with the earthenware vessels in which it was shipped, became the source of Athenian prosperity.

The wide distribution of Athenian pottery marks the growing power of Athens. The vases of the period fall into several groups. Black-figured ware, showing black figures against a reddish background, was made until the last quarter of the century. Red-figured ware, on which the colors were reversed, then begins to appear, and the early work of this type belongs to the period immediately preceding the Persian Wars. Vases with black or polychrome figures against a white ground were introduced into Athens at about the same time. The well-known Panathenaic *Amphorae*, used as prizes for Panathenaic contests, were introduced in the sixth century and their use continued with type almost unchanged for several hundred years.⁷⁹ At Athens itself only fragments of vases are found, because of the complete destruction of the city by the Persians in 480 B.C. The best Athenian vases of the period have been found in far distant parts of the Greek world. Large numbers of them were discovered throughout Italy, from Etruria to Apulia.⁸⁰ At Vulci in particular the fabric of all periods was found, and Cervetri also yielded much early pottery.⁸¹ Athe-

⁷⁶ Plutarch, *Solon*, 22.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁷⁹ Simonides, 135.4.

⁸⁰ Walters, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 72-87.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-79.

nian ware was also imported into Sicily.⁸² The Black Sea region was also falling under Athenian commercial influence as is shown by Attic Black and Red-figured ware found at Olbia and other Milesian colonies.⁸³ As Miletus waned Athens stepped into her place.

There is no doubt that the manufacture of pottery was one of the chief Greek industries, and that at Athens it held a place of greater importance than did the wool and metal industries. M. Francotte does not think the ceramic industry was important from an economic point of view, saying that the total output could be the product of a comparatively small number of workshops and workers.⁸⁴ While this may be true by modern standards, at that period the industry was relatively of great importance, and employed a relatively large number of men. As the artisans prospered they were able to buy slaves and "factories" on a small scale were set up. Towards the end of the century an average establishment would have from fifteen to twenty workers.⁸⁵ These would consist of citizens, metics, and slaves, who, in spite of political distinctions, worked together in democratic fashion.⁸⁶ There was division of labor among the manager and his helpers who prepared the material, who decorated, who fired the pottery, and so on, but on the whole the workers exhibited much versatility. Women may have occasionally been employed, to judge from some vase paintings.⁸⁷ Meaningless letters on vases show that workers were sometimes illiterate. That many potters were of foreign origin is shown by such names as Scythes, Lydos, Amasis, Colchos, Thrax, while on the other hand Greek names—Clitias, Epictetus, Euphemius, etc., occur.⁸⁸

⁸² Walters, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 86, 87.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁸⁴ Francotte, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 73-77.

⁸⁵ Pottier, Edmond, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁸⁷ Cf. Pottier, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁸⁸ Walters, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 273 *et seq.*; Pottier, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

The industrial and economic progress of the sixth century meant not only material advancement but a forward movement in intellectual life as well. The struggle to meet the needs of daily living grew easier and more leisure was found for other occupations. The venturesome spirit which up to this time had found its outlet in colonization and physical strife was now turned in a new direction by a few men who were seized with a passion for investigation and explanation. The world must be understood as well as lived in. Alongside of and mingled with the old myths, metaphysical interpretations of the universe came into being. Intercourse with other peoples, made possible by increased facility of navigation and fostered by commerce, opened new realms for investigation and quickened the imagination. The Greeks had begun to think. In this field, as in others, the Ionians led the way. In Miletus and other prosperous cities of the Asia Minor coast, the first philosophers were found. Anaximander, Hecataeus, and Thales began their investigations in the field of philosophy, geography, and political science. Their influence spread westward and their pupils carried their teachings to all parts of the Hellenic world, developing new ideas as they went. Of those who went to Sicily and Magna Graecia Pythagoras was most important. Everywhere except in Sparta the new spirit was evident. The Greeks had discovered their intellectual power and had begun to use it.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGION

Religion and religious institutions were potent forces in the moulding of Hellenic individual and social life in the sixth century. The belief that the gods were still near to mortals and that men must honor and fear them and seek to know and do their will, was widespread and sincere. Consequently channels of communication with the gods, such as oracles and omens, were popular and powerful. Festivals were observed and sacred rites duly performed. The state, still more than the individual, must maintain relations with the immortals. Religion and politics were indissolubly connected. Speculation was beginning in Ionia, and was spreading westward, but the masses were little troubled by it, and adhered to old customs and beliefs throughout the period. Through games and festivals religion became an important social factor. The need for statues of gods and athletes led to great advances in sculpture. Much of the artistic work of the craftsman was inspired by ancient myths. Hymns to the god required the services of poets. Religion wielded an immense power over every phase of human life.

The subject of the Games, both Great and lesser, has already been treated. Their part in the physical and mental development of the Greek race has been noted. It must be remembered that they rested on a religious basis, and the results that accrued from them may be properly attributed to a religious source. In promoting race consciousness as well as intellectual unity, they did important service, and Greek art, both plastic and literary, is greatly indebted to them.

While athletic contests were a feature of the greater number of festivals, the terms *games* and festivals are not exactly synonymous. The former refers to those gatherings in which gymnastic and equestrian competitions played the principal

part. Festivals include religious celebrations of many kinds. It is difficult to realize their number and variety. They were held in honor of gods¹ and of heroes.² Some were nature festivals;³ others celebrated historical events.⁴ In some men and women of all ages mingled, while others were restricted in the class of their participants. A few were Panhellenic, but many more were local. States often sent official representatives (Theori)⁵ and choruses to join in the great celebrations.⁶ Individuals attended in throngs. Such assemblages naturally promoted trade, and festivals had a large share in the development of Greek commerce. Many were so ancient that their origin was lost to history, but new ones were often established.

A common bond of race was the cause of the establishing of certain festivals. The Panionia, celebrated at Mycale, thus belonged to all the Ionians.⁷ The festival at Delos was also particularly frequented by the Ionians.⁸ The Pamboeotia was held at Coronea.⁹ Some festivals were purely local, while others were observed by various peoples, perhaps simultaneously, perhaps at different times. One belonging to the latter class was the Thesmophoria, a festival celebrated by

¹ The Great Games belong to Gods,—the Olympian and the Nemean Zeus, Poseidon, and Apollo; and many of the other festivals also, such as the one in honor of Apollo Theoxenios at Pellene. Cf. Pindar, *Ol.* VII. 86; IX. 97 *seq.*; XIII. 109; *Nem.* X. 44. Also Pausanias, VII. 27.4.

² Cf. the festival of Adrastus at Sicyon, whose honors were later transferred (c. 600 B.C.) by Cleisthenes to Bacchus and Melanippus, whom he imported from Thebes. *Vide* Herodotus, V. 67.

³ Eleusinia in honor of Demeter and Persephone.

⁴ Cf. the festival to Miltiades as founder in the Chersonese. Herodotus, VI. 38.

⁵ Strabo, X. 5.2; Herodotus, VI. 87.

⁶ Herodotus, VI. 27.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 148.

⁸ *Hymn to Delian Apollo*, 146-164.

⁹ Strabo, IX. 2.29; Pausanias, IX. 34.1.

married women very generally throughout the Greek world.¹⁰ The Apaturia was kept by all Ionians except those excluded for bloodguiltiness.¹¹ Many festivals are mentioned in Pindar, besides those whose victories he records,—for example, at Aegina,¹² at Megara,¹³ at Marathon.¹⁴ Some of Pindar's odes celebrate victories at other than the Great Games,—at Argos,¹⁵ at Thebes,¹⁶ and at Sicyon.¹⁷

While by this period Sparta had suppressed most of her liberalizing tendencies, some features of her earlier civilization may have been preserved in the festivals which were still scrupulously observed. The *Parthenia* of Alcman were doubtless still sung in the dances and choruses in which Spartan maidens¹⁸ together with girls from all Lacedaemon¹⁹ participated, for Spartans and Perioeci joined in religious festivals.²⁰ The festival of the Gymnopaediae, at which the boys danced choral dances in honor of Apollo, maintained its importance among the Lacedaemonians throughout a long period.²¹ That zeal which kept them at home celebrating festivals instead of going to the aid of their brother Greeks is familiar. Once the Carneian festival,²² and at another time the Hyacinthia,²³ thus caused, or possibly provided an excuse for, delay.

¹⁰ The list of places, with references, may be found in the article on "Thesmophoria" (Giraud, J.), in Daremberg, C., and Saglio, M. E., *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* (Paris), vol. ii, pp. 239-242.

¹¹ Herodotus, I. 148.

¹² Pindar, *Ol.* VII. 86; *Pyth.* IX. 90.

¹³ *Id.*, *Ol.* VII. 86; *Ol.* XIII. 109; *Pyth.* IX. 91.

¹⁴ *Id.*, *Ol.* IX. 89; *Ol.* XIII. 110.

¹⁵ *Id.*, *Nem.* X. Cf. *Ol.* VII. 83; *Ol.* IX. 88; *Ol.* XIII. 107.

¹⁶ *Id.*, *Pyth.* II. Cf. *Ol.* VII. 84; *Ol.* XIII. 107.

¹⁷ *Id.*, *Nem.* IX. Cf. *Ol.* XIII. 109; *Nem.* X. 43.

¹⁸ Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 13.

¹⁹ Pausanias, III. 10.8.

²⁰ Herodotus, IX. 7; Thucydides, V. 18-23.

²¹ Herodotus, VI. 67; Pausanias, III. 11.7.

²² Herodotus, VI. 206.

²³ *Ibid.*, IX. 7.

Athens too had many festivals. Those that had only local participants, such as the Brauronia, in honor of Artemis, in which maidens took part before marriage,²⁴ preserved much the same character and importance throughout long stretches of time. Others grew with the city. The Panathenaia, the foundation of which tradition ascribed to Erechthonius,²⁵ remained a local and aristocratic celebration up to the time of Peisistratus. He popularized it and opened it to all Greeks, establishing the greater fete of that name held every four years. Not only did all Athenians, men and women, join in the festival, but from all parts of Hellas strangers thronged to take part in the contests and carry away the jar of oil as token of victory.²⁶ At the Panathenaia the Homeric poems were recited according to certain regulations which the rhapsodists were obliged to follow.²⁷ These regulations were variously ascribed to Solon²⁸ and to Peisistratus,²⁹ but by authors too late to offer more than vague tradition or guesses, so that the actual circumstances cannot be known. Homeric recitations were a feature of all Greek gatherings, unless they were expressly forbidden, as was the case at Sicyon under Cleisthenes.³⁰

Another festival which was helping to draw the attention of all Greece to Athens was the Eleusinia. Originally purely local, it had become Attic when Athens gained possession of

²⁴ Herodotus, VI. 138.

²⁵ *Hellanicus*, p. 65 (Müller, vol. i, p. 54).

²⁶ Pindar, *Nem.* X. 33-36.

²⁷ See Lang, *World of Homer* (London, 1910), pp. 270-271, and discussion pp. 281-288. Lang, p. 271, says,—“practically we know nothing beyond the fact that a law regulated the recitation of Homer at the Panathenaic festival.”

²⁸ Diogenes Laertius, *Solon*, I. 59.

²⁹ Pseud. Plat. *Hipparchus*, 228 B.C. Cicero (*de Oratore*, XXX. 34) says: “Peisistratus, who is said to have been the first to arrange as we now have them the books of Homer, before his time confused, . . .”

³⁰ Herodotus, V. 67.

Eleusis, although the office of Hierophant was always controlled by members of the Eleusinian family of the Eumolpidae. To its early worship of Demeter and Persephone³¹ Dionysiac elements had been added.³² It has been suggested that these came in early in the sixth century with the religious forms associated with the name of Epimenides,³³ or they may have been introduced by Peisistratus, who did much to promote the worship of Dionysus. At any rate the procession of Iacchus was a regular part of the ceremonies by the end of the century.³⁴ Initiation was then open to all Greeks, but the fame of the mysteries was not yet widespread.³⁵ The vision of immortality, however, which the Greeks seized upon as the fulfillment of so much of their spiritual aspiration, was gaining in power, and many besides Pindar were learning—"Blessed is he who, seeing these things, goes beneath the earth. He knows the end of life; he knows the god given beginning."³⁶

The introduction of a form of Dionysus into the Eleusinian cult was typical of the impetus given to the god's worship in the seventh and sixth centuries.³⁷ Although a foreigner from Thrace, he was welcomed and adopted by the Greeks and became as popular as any native divinity. He made special appeal to peasant vine-growers, and was received by all because through his inspiration common men could be infused with divinity itself. As the wine-giver, poets celebrated him in drinking songs.³⁸ On the mountain sides revelled the Maenads, seeking the divine frenzy that brought union with

³¹ See *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*.

³² Herodotus, VIII. 65.

³³ Lenormant, F., "Eleusinia," in Daremberg-Saglio, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 544-581.

³⁴ Herodotus, VIII. 65.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Pindar, fr. 137a.

³⁷ Cf. Moore, Clifford H., *The Religious Thought of the Greeks* (Cambridge, 1916), p. 47 *et seq.*

³⁸ Alcaeus, 17, 44.

the god.³⁹ In the cities as well as in the rural districts choruses competed in his honor,⁴⁰ and the victorious leaders dedicated offerings to him.⁴¹ Bacchic mysteries were carried by colonists to the borders of barbarism.⁴² Peisistratus, by the institution of the Great Dionysia of the city, magnified the god's importance among Athenians, and in the dances of the goat-skin clad worshippers began the history of tragic drama. The popularity of the god is evident from the vases of the period, for Dionysiac scenes are among the favorite subjects represented in black-figured ware.⁴³

A particularly important form of the religious revival which centres in the worship of Dionysus was the Orphic movement, which from the sixth century on exerted a profound influence in Greek life. While the Orphic teachings of this early period have not been preserved, and they are known only from later writings, their influence was already to be observed. The son of Zeus and Semele became an object of popular worship⁴⁴ according to the rites which Orpheus, the Thracian singer, was said to have introduced.⁴⁵ Onamacritus, at the Peisistratid court, wrote Orphic hymns and induced the tyrant to honor the god and aid the sect, though later, tradition says, he was banished for forgery.⁴⁶ The Orphic doctrines were taken up by Pythagoras, and the communities which his followers formed in Italy were practically Orphic in nature.⁴⁷ The mystic rites of Orphism appealed to emotional men, while some of the more rational accepted Orphism as philosophically interpreted by Pythagoras. Thus the movement appealed to

³⁹ Anacreon, 107; Simonides, 146.

⁴⁰ Anacreon, 55, 57.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 96, 99.

⁴² Herodotus, IV. 78.

⁴³ Bury, J. B., *A History of Greece* (London, 1900), p. 201.

⁴⁴ Alcaeus, 44; Anacreon, 99.

⁴⁵ Strabo, fr. 18, Vatican epitome; Ibycus, 8b.

⁴⁶ For interpolations to Musaeus. Herodotus, VII. 6. Cf. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁴⁷ Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 60 *et seq.*

all classes, and in the late sixth century its power was at its height. The happiness of the initiated dead is described in Pindar.⁴⁸

Onamacritus was but one of many religious prophets and reformers of this age. Epimenides, the Cretan, who was summoned to Athens early in the sixth century at the command of Delphi to purify the city, was perhaps the most famous of these seers. Athens needed to be cleared of the guilt that had rested upon her since the murder of Cylon and his followers, when suppliants, by the followers of the Alcmaeonidae, and the Cretan was appointed to the task.⁴⁹ In addition to purifying sacrifice and ceremonies, he built new temples and remodelled various religious rites.⁵⁰ He modified mourning customs, "introducing certain sacrifices shortly after the funeral, and abolishing the harsh and barbarous treatment to which women were for the most part subject before in times of mourning."⁵¹ Long afterwards a statue in his honor still recorded the reverence and gratitude felt towards him by the Athenians.⁵² Purification for murder or for other forms of sacrilege was the usual practice. It was formerly thought that Purification was post-Homeric and oriental in its origin, but it now seems probable that it was established in Greece and Crete in earlier times.⁵³

The influence of hero-worship as an active element in the religion of historic Greece was undoubtedly great, although Andrew Lang's claim that it was the most active element seems somewhat exaggerated.⁵⁴ Dr. Fairbanks contends that "The worship of men as heroes after their death is not attested

⁴⁸ Pindar, *Ol.* II. 53-83.

⁴⁹ Diogenes Laertius, *Epimenides*, I. 110; Herodotus, V. 71; Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, I.

⁵⁰ Plutarch, *Solon*, 12.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Pausanias, I. 14.4.

⁵³ Cf. Farnell, L. R., "Purification" (Greek), in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (Edinburgh, 1908-1918).

⁵⁴ Andrew Lang, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

before the fifth century B.C., and it was not common until considerably later."⁵⁵ There is evidence to show, however, that heroization as well as hero-worship was existent, if not established practice, in the sixth century. Founders of cities were frequently heroized. Although many of these heroes were legendary, the case of Miltiades furnishes an instance where an historical character was so honored.⁵⁶ The institution of hero-worship was often directed by the oracle of Delphi. Early in the sixth century, when Cleisthenes of Sicyon wished to put down the worship of Adrastus because he was an Argive, the oracle refused to allow Adrastus to be driven out.⁵⁷ Cleisthenes therefore introduced a new hero, Melanippus, from Thebes, and, having given him a precinct and shrine, transferred to him the sacrifices and festivals that had formerly belonged to Adrastus.⁵⁸ Honors were ordinarily paid to a hero at his grave.⁵⁹ The same hero, however, might be worshipped at several different places, as Adrastus was at Sicyon, at Megara,⁶⁰ and at Athens.⁶¹ The increasing appearance of Theseus on early red-figured ware shows his growing popularity as an Athenian hero.⁶²

Alongside of the heroes, the worship of the gods went on in much the same way. Shrines or temples were built in sacred precincts, festivals were held and sacrifices offered. The great gods had local epithets and under these names they were worshipped in various places, as Artemis Orthia at Sparta, or Zeus Lycaeus on Mt. Lycaeus. Indeed they were

⁵⁵ Fairbanks, Arthur, *A Handbook of Greek Religion* (New York, 1910), p. 166.

⁵⁶ Herodotus, VI. 38. Herodotus records that on the death of Miltiades the people of the Chersonese "offered him the customary sacrifices of a founder; and they have further established in his honor a gymnastic contest and a chariot-race."

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, V. 67.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ As to Iolaus. Pindar, *Ol.* IX. 98 *seq.*

⁶⁰ Pausanias, I. 43.1.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, I. 30.4.

⁶² Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 201; Walters, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 418; vol. ii, p. 188.

still local rather than national divinities. The priests and priestesses who had charge of their worship did not form a separate caste. They were merely men and women selected to perform certain religious duties on behalf of the people, and as religion was not elaborately organized, they did not attain any great power. Perhaps the priests at Delphi might be considered the only exception to this rule. Of the custom of dedicating gifts to the gods as thankofferings or as payment of vows, the inscriptions on sixth century votive offerings bear witness.⁶³ A cornice of the altar dedicated by Peisistratus, son of Hippias, still remains.⁶⁴

Sacred spots, temples and altars were places of refuge at which suppliants might seek safety. However great the crime he had committed, such a suppliant was supposed to be beyond human vengeance. Unfortunately the rights of suppliants were not always observed. That barbarian Persians should not keep the law is not surprising,⁶⁵ but Greeks also were sometimes guilty of its violation.⁶⁶ The famous seventh century case that brought the curse on the family of the Alcmaeonidae has already been mentioned.⁶⁷ The violator of a suppliant, according to Theognis, never could escape the just punishment of the gods.⁶⁸ Usually the sacredness of suppliants was recognized.⁶⁹ When it was impossible for the suppliant to go to the temple, it might be said that the temple was occasionally brought to the suppliant, as was the case when the Ephesians stretched a rope from the temple of Artemis to their city, in order to dedicate their city to the goddess, when they were being besieged by Croesus.⁷⁰

⁶³ To Demeter, Kaibel, 741; to Athena and Hera, Kaibel, 742; to Zeus, Kaibel, 743; to Hera, Michel, 1147, and Dittenberger, 10; to Artemis, Michel, 1169; etc.

⁶⁴ Thucydides, VI. 54; Hicks and Hill, 10=Michel, 1019.

⁶⁵ Herodotus, VIII. 53.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 158-160; V. 46; VI. 91.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, V. 71; Aristotle, *Ath. Const.*, I.

⁶⁸ Theognis, 143-144.

⁶⁹ Herodotus, III. 48; VI. 108.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 26.

Of great importance in the conduct of military, political and private affairs was the influence of the soothsayer. Every army was accompanied by such a prophet, who conducted sacrifices and interpreted portents before the battle.⁷¹ In the Persian War not only the Greeks used them,⁷² but even Mar-donius employed an Elean soothsayer, who sacrificed by Greek rites before the battle of Plataea.⁷³ Elean seers were the most famous, especially those belonging to the family of the Iamidae.⁷⁴ While the Iamids were of great note, they did not monopolize the business, and soothsayers are mentioned who came from Acarnania,⁷⁵ from Phigalea in Arcadia,⁷⁶ from Leucadia,⁷⁷ and from other places.⁷⁸ Soothsayers were often able to give shrewd human advice, as well as to interpret the will of the gods. Tullias, an Elean, aided his side to a victory over the Thessalians by persuading them to attack at night, having camouflaged themselves with white armor and chalk.⁷⁹ Peisistratus was persuaded to attack the city on his second return by the prophecy of Amphilytus.⁸⁰ An Elean soothsayer belonged to the court and immediate following of Polycrates.⁸¹

The chief sources, however, from which men might learn the will of the gods, were the oracles. Of these the Delphic oracle of Apollo Pythios was chief, and it achieved, in fact as well as in legend, the honor of being the centre of the Greek world. Not merely did it supervise the morals and religion of the Greek states, but it wielded an enormous influence on their political life. The minor oracles too had more

⁷¹ Herodotus, VIII. 27.

⁷² *Ibid.*, IX. 33, 38, 92.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, IX. 37. Persian sacrificial ceremonies differed from Greek.
Cf. Herodotus, I. 132.

⁷⁴ Pindar, *Ol.* VI. 22-76; Herodotus, V. 44; IX. 33.

⁷⁵ Herodotus, I. 62.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, VI. 83.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, IX. 38.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, IX. 92.

⁷⁹ Pausanias, X. 1.8, 11; Herodotus, VIII. 27.

⁸⁰ Herodotus, I. 62.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, III. 132.

than local fame. Dodona, whose ancient oracle was said to be related to that of Ammon in Libya,⁸² exercised power from a very early period,⁸³ and although it was especially prized by the neighboring Aetolians, Acarnanians, and Epirots,⁸⁴ its advice was also sought from afar.⁸⁵ Other famous oracles were those of Trophonius at Lebadeia,⁸⁶ and of Apollo at Abae.⁸⁷ The greatest oracle in Asia Minor was that at Branchidae (Apollo) near Miletus.⁸⁸

The consultation of oracles was open to barbarians as well as to Greeks. Gyges of Lydia and Midas of Phrygia were said to have early sent gifts to Delphi, which implies their use of the oracle.⁸⁹ Croesus consulted many oracles and having found that at Delphi most trustworthily rewarded it with many rich and beautiful gifts.⁹⁰ During the Persian War Mardonius consulted numerous Greek oracles.⁹¹ Indeed barbarians frequently patronized Greek religion,—Croesus presented gifts to the temple of Ephesian Artemis, to Thebes, and to other places;⁹² Datis made offerings on the altar at Delos.⁹³ Amasis of Egypt sent statues and other presents to Greek temples at Cyrene, Lindos, and Samos,⁹⁴ and aided the Delphians to rebuild their temple after its destruction by fire.⁹⁵

One of Delphi's most important privileges was the right of

⁸² Herodotus, II. 54-57; Strabo, VII. fr. 1, Palatine Epitome.

⁸³ *Odyssey*, XIV. 327; Strabo, VII. 7.10.

⁸⁴ Pausanias, VII. 21.2.

⁸⁵ For example, by Croesus. Herodotus, I. 46.

⁸⁶ Herodotus, VIII. 134; I. 46; Strabo, IX. 2.38; Pausanias, IX. 39.5 *seq.*

⁸⁷ Herodotus, I. 46; VIII. 33, 134; Pausanias, X. 34.1.

⁸⁸ Herodotus, I. 46, 157.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, I. 14.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 46-51.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, VIII. 133-135.

⁹² *Ibid.*, I. 92; Hicks and Hill, *op. cit.*, 5.

⁹³ Herodotus, VI. 97.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 182.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 180.

directing colonization.⁹⁶ Dorieus's attempt to found a colony without consulting the oracle failed until he received the proper sanction.⁹⁷ Kings asked the advice of Delphi upon going to war.⁹⁸ The central authority of Delphi can be realized from the large number of references to it in Herodotus. It maintained its position by a policy of wise moderation in matters where the priests were competent to judge, and by the use of skillful ambiguity when this was impossible. It was occasionally considered guilty of succumbing to bribery,⁹⁹ notably in the case when the Alcmaeonidae persuaded it to tell the Spartans repeatedly to free Athens.¹⁰⁰ On the whole its record was a clean one, and long after it was called the most exempt of all the oracles from deception.¹⁰¹

In the sixth century Delphi was a centre of honor and worship. Kings came at the head of delegations of citizens to offer hecatombs in behalf of their cities.¹⁰² It was the custom to dedicate spoils from a victory to Pythian Apollo. The Cnidians thus offered a tithe of their spoils about 540 B.C.¹⁰³ The Liparaeans brought Etruscan booty to Delphi towards the end of the century.¹⁰⁴ The stoa erected by Athens was probably dedicated after the victory over the Boeotians and Chalcidians, 506 B.C.¹⁰⁵ The gifts of foreign kings have already been mentioned, and inscriptions bear witness that numerous works of art, from both public and private sources, were sent to Delphi in the sixth century.¹⁰⁶ In

⁹⁶ Herodotus, IV. 150, 155.

⁹⁷ Pindar, *Pyth.* IV. 5 *seq.*; Herodotus, V. 42-43.

⁹⁸ Herodotus, I. 50; IV. 163.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, VI. 66.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, V. 63.

¹⁰¹ Strabo, IX. 3.6.

¹⁰² Herodotus, IV. 150.

¹⁰³ Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 8.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 14. Cf. Diodorus, V. 5; Pausanias, X. 16.7.

¹⁰⁵ Hicks and Hill, *op. cit.*, 11=Michel, 1116.

¹⁰⁶ From the Potidaeans (Dittenberger, 15); from the sons of Xaropinus (*Ibid.*, 16); from the Corcyraeans (*Ibid.*, 18); from the Chians (*Ibid.*, 19); from the Samians (*Ibid.*, 20).

return the Delphians were accustomed to confer honors upon their benefactors. To Croesus and the Lydians they gave the right of precedence in consulting the oracle, exemption from all charges, the most honorable seat at festivals and the perpetual right of becoming citizens of Delphi (c. 543 B.C.).¹⁰⁷ So many honors must have been unusual, but the gifts of the Lydian King were unwontedly splendid,¹⁰⁸—couches and robes and three thousand beasts for sacrifice, ingots of gold and silver, statues and vessels of the same precious materials, and some of his wife's jewelry. The privilege of *promanteia*, i. e., of consulting the oracle first, was frequently bestowed, and was gained by the Naxians, Siphnians, and Chians,¹⁰⁹ and probably by other cities, in the last half of the sixth century.

Delphi was in this period the meeting place of the Amphictyony, which had originally centred at the temple of Demeter at Anthela near Thermopylae.¹¹⁰ The name Amphictyony was applied to certain other religious leagues, such as that which met at Onchestus,¹¹¹ and that which centred at Delos.¹¹² The latter had fallen into decay in this period, and the attempts of Peisistratus to revive the ancient glories of the Ionians by purifying the island were not fully carried out.¹¹³ The Delphic Amphictyony, then, seems to have been the only one of importance in this period. The Amphictyons had charge of the temples and precincts of Demeter and of Apollo, and supervised the property belonging to them.¹¹⁴ When the

¹⁰⁷ Herodotus, I. 54. See Dittenberger, 7.

¹⁰⁸ Herodotus, I. 50, 51.

¹⁰⁹ Dittenberger, I. 17.

¹¹⁰ Strabo, IX. 3.7, 4.47; Aeschines, II. 115 *seq.*; Pausanias, X. 8.1, 2.

¹¹¹ Strabo, IX. 2.33.

¹¹² Thucydides, III. 104; "Hymn to Delian Apollo," 146-164.

¹¹³ Herodotus, I. 64; Thucydides, III. 104. The motive underlying this action of Peisistratus was the increase of his own prestige by gaining greater favor with the people.

¹¹⁴ Strabo, IX. 3.7.

temple at Delphi was destroyed by fire, they had control of its rebuilding and of the levying of the necessary funds.¹¹⁵ Under their direction the Pythian Games were held.¹¹⁶ In international affairs their prerogatives were somewhat vaguely defined. Yet a beginning of interstate law is seen in the oath not to destroy any other Amphictyonic city, nor to cut it off from water in time of war or peace, and to make war on any who transgressed this rule or who plundered the possessions of the god.¹¹⁷ About 595 B.C., the League made war on Crisa, because the Crisaeans had taxed in defiance of the Amphictyonic law those visiting the temple.¹¹⁸ Cleisthenes of Sicyon was called to the command. When the city and likewise its seaport Cirrha were destroyed, its territory, on the advice of Solon, was consecrated to the god.

Finally, Greek religion was much more a matter of state or family than of individual responsibility. Only in the mysteries did men enter into personal relationship with the gods. To a comparatively slight extent, therefore, were religion and morality associated, yet they were not entirely separate. "No one without the aid of the gods gains virtue, neither city nor man," says Simonides.¹¹⁹ Such a thought was correlative to the command of Theognis: "Reverence and fear the gods, for this prevents a man from doing or saying unholy things."¹²⁰ Poets perhaps more than ordinary men experienced such feelings. They at any rate expressed the idea that the gods could aid mortals to follow the straight-forward paths of life and come to a contented death.¹²¹

¹¹⁵ Herodotus, II. 180; V. 62; Pausanias, X. 5.13.

¹¹⁶ Pindar, *Pyth.* IV. 66.

¹¹⁷ Aeschines, II. 115.

¹¹⁸ The First Sacred War. Aeschines, III. 107 *seq.*; Strabo, IX. 3.4; Pausanias, X. 37.5-8.

¹¹⁹ Simonides, 44.

¹²⁰ Theognis, 1179-1180.

¹²¹ Pindar, *Nem.* VIII. 35 *seq.*

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